

THE

# METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—JOHN RUSKIN.

*Modern Painters.* By a Graduate of Oxford. Vols. I, II, III, IV and V. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

*Seven Lamps of Architecture.* By the Author of "Modern Painters." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

*Stones of Venice:* Vol. I. *Foundations.* Vol. II. *Sea Stories.* Vol. III. *The Fall.* By the Author of "Modern Painters." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

*The Two Paths.* By the Author of "Modern Painters." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

*Pre-Raphaelites.* By the Author of "Modern Painters." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

*Notes on the Construction of Sheepfolds.* By the Author of "Modern Painters." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

*Economy of Art.* By the Author of "Modern Painters." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

*Elements of Drawing.* By the Author of "Modern Painters." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. New York: John Wiley.

IN the year 1843 a work appeared in England entitled "Modern Painters," by a Graduate of Oxford. The title was unattractive, the theme not less so. The apparent vanity of the author, in his *non de plume*, did not strengthen their weakness. Yet in spite of these defects, which seemed to shut it out alike from the masses and the elect, it ran through four large editions within five years, and was read by every class with equal astonishment, if not with equal admiration. It provoked bitter assaults upon its doctrines and descriptions from the scathed artists, and introduced a new life, with all its fluctuations, into the domain of art.

The secret of its success lay partly in the beauty and vigor of its style, partly in its bold criticisms on the great masters of art, old and new, but chiefly in its new and thrilling descriptions of the phenomena and laws of nature. It has the honor of opening the

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world of art to the world of readers. To them this province had been previously closed. Whatever privileges had been accorded to them as admirers of the works of artists, the laws of art, though universal and patent to every eye, had never before been developed. Vitruvius or Fuseli, Reynolds or Angelo, whoever had discoursed upon this theme, had failed to see its high origin in nature, and wide relations to all her offspring of science and letters. The literature of art he must be said to have founded. Whoever now enters this field must learn his tactics and wield his arms, if they would win his honors.

John Ruskin, the author of the work, was the son of a London merchant, in which city he was born in 1819. He graduated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1843, when he took the Newdegate prize for English poetry. The same year, when not twenty-five years old, he issued the first volume of the "Modern Painters." It was designed as a defense of Turner, the famous landscape artist, whose works had been the butt of ridicule among artists and connoisseurs. He meant to compass the defense within the little limits and life of a pamphlet, but he soon saw that the only way to carry him triumphantly through the contest was to bring him and all his rivals, cotemporaneous or antecedent, to that nature which they professed to follow, and test their professions in the light of her realities. To do this it was necessary to know what they were set to copy. But when he looked at the canons of the school he found none of her divine decrees recorded there. All was musty, weak, erroneous, human. His paramount duty, therefore, evidently was, to bring the artist home to nature, to show him her whom he must love and worship, must study and obey, if he would have any of the offspring of his own genius adorned and strengthened with her immortal beauty and life.

It is in this department of investigation that he rises from the critic to the seer, from the reformer of art to the revealer of nature, from the transient, if brilliant, fame of the advocate and pamphleteer, to the enduring post of a philosopher and lawgiver. Here, too, is where the students of diviner mysteries find a place for him beside the explorers of the word of God. The book of nature, the elder, but not the better brother of the book of revelation, will be always reverently read by every lover of their Author. And if there is one who has had access to her secret chambers, has grasped her inmost life, or dwelt wisely and reverently upon the loveliness of that "body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part," it is our duty and privilege to follow him on these great paths of thought, to gaze with him on her new revelations of truth and beauty, and to feel with him the fullness of her glory, strength, and joy.



Ruskin has, perhaps unconsciously, shaped himself according to the form and pressure of the age. Its ruling passion has wrought in him, though in a manner and to ends unusual. That passion is to search into nature, to know the knowable in her every part and particle. The rise of many sciences of nature within the past century, the wondrous growth which those have seen that led a feeble and contemptuous existence before, mark the currents on which the present thoughts of the race are swept. Man has at last found the key to these mysteries, and he cannot rest till he explores every private cabinet and gloats over every hidden gem. He maps the surface of earth and ocean, so that the whole globe is as familiar to him as his garden. He drops his plummet among the stars, and draws from those untraveled depths their eternal secrets. He enters the abysses of earth and sea, and drags forth to the garish light of our day the treasures which myriads of ages have there stored up. He weighs the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance. He turns water to fire, fire to ice, rock to air, and all to unseen elements, in whose new combinations he creates new atmospheres, new seas, new worlds. Poetry and philosophy, language and letters, theology and politics, all other modes of mental activity, play a secondary part in the great intellectual drama of to-day. Natural science has the chief *role*. Humboldt is called the greatest man of the age only because he most perfectly plays this part. His associates, Cuvier, Linnæus, La Verrier, Agassiz, hold the supreme rank among men only because they best represent the passion of the hour. They are the kings of the laboratory and the observatory, and these are the thrones of present dominion. But this force, like every other in nature, is one-sided. It cannot truly live without its counterforce. This scrutiny of nature is unnatural. If carried forward without check it would soon slay the form it worships. Its devotion involves the murder of its idol. For natural science as popularly understood is but the dissection of nature. The world without is anatomized by the world within. That lovely, living form is stretched upon the table of the operator. She is flayed, her flesh is stripped from her bones, her nerves are laid bare, her throbbing heart and brain are coolly taken from their living couches, and cleft in a spirit that is usually utterly careless, if not ignorant, of their real life, and is only anxious to learn their material constitution. She is perfect only when she hangs, a skeleton, in her idolater's cabinet. This ceaseless contemplation of nature in her unnatural forms is apt to breed in the student a contempt for the exquisite and wondrous life that she really possesses, as the physician, by his constant study of the dissevered body, is tempted to despise that body

and deny its glory and immortality. It goes farther, and breeds in him a contempt for the Creator of that unfathomable beauty.

But no great force works without its fellow. The centrifugal generates the centripetal. The progress, popularity, and power of this school of culture is attended by a corresponding progress, popularity, and power in its cognate, yet hostile school. Against these lovers of her rent robes and elemental forms are set those who detect and declare her perfection of beauty. These draw all hearts to worship her living, those to study her dead. Poets and artists are the chief ministers at this altar. They hold the mirror up to visible nature. Hence, as one class are casting her into the retort and calcining her in the crucible, the other are prostrating themselves in her sublime temple before her unchanged though everchanging beauty. The last century witnessed the beginning of this revival. Burns and Cowper were its forerunners in poetry, Reynolds and Gainsborough in art. Wordsworth and Turner, the greatest seers of nature, with attendant suns, soon followed. In all culture, European and American, this spirit soon revealed itself, until finally the masses caught the flame, and to-day, journeys for the observation of her scenic forms, and imaginative portrayals of them in poetry and painting, are only equaled by explorations of her elemental secrets.

Ruskin is therefore a child of the age. The spirit that rules others rules him. But, unlike others, he unites these hostile opposites. He is at once the chemist and the artist. His eye is both that of the poet and the anatomist, now in fine phrensy rolling, and now coolly searching through all the living fibers of the spirit it adores; enraptured with

"The light that never was on sea or land,  
The inspiration and the poet's dream,"

and never losing that lesser light of scientific statement which this must obey if it would flow into forms and colors, on canvas, in stone. In him, more than in any other man of the age, these two contraries are balanced, and the resultant force sweeps his soul along the perfect orbit.

Two questions we shall try to answer: What are his contributions to the stock of human knowledge? and, What is the spirit in which he has made them?

This limitation will necessarily exclude much that he has written. The burning wrath wherewith he consumes all baseless pretensions and pretenders, the process of refining the great names of art in his critical crucible, whereby he either melts them into nothing, or separates from them the false and meretricious, and replaces them on their shrines, lesser yet greater men, for the higher, because wiser,

reverence of their worshipers; the vivid descriptions of great paintings and buildings, which almost recompense us, in their splendor of word-painting, for the absence of the objects themselves; these and other admirable thoughts that flood his works must pass unnoticed. If what we restrain ourselves to will but inspire any one to go and drink at these sweet, full fountains, our work is accomplished.

We shall follow somewhat the order of his publications, and glance at a few of the new facts and laws he has uttered in each. The first volume of "Modern Painters" opens with a discourse on the nature of Ideas conveyable by art. After a preliminary statement in what greatness of art consists, he says:

"I think that all the sources of pleasure, or of any other good to be derived from works of art, may be referred to five distinct heads:

"I. Ideas of Power. The perception or conception of the mental or bodily powers by which the work has been produced.

"II. Ideas of Imitation. The perception that the thing produced resembles something else.

"III. Ideas of Truth. The perception of faithfulness in a statement of facts by the thing produced.

"IV. Ideas of Beauty. The perception of beauty, either in the thing produced or in what it suggests or resembles.

"V. Ideas of Relation. The perception of intellectual relations in the thing produced, or in what it suggests or resembles."—Vol. i, p. 13.

Of these the three last are dwelt upon with especial fullness, as being the centers of life to all the rest. Each is nothing without Truth. They are not artistic nor natural without Beauty. They have no real greatness without great intellectual Relations, that is, unless they *mean* something great, and show forth their meaning.

He plunges almost instantly into the thick of the conflict, laying down in these strong words the absolute necessity of truth:

"Nothing can atone for the want of truth; not the most brilliant imagination, the most playful fancy, the most pure feeling, (supposing that feeling *could* be pure and false at the same time,) not the most exalted conception, nor the most comprehensive grasp of intellect, can make amends for the want of truth, and that for two reasons: first, because falsehood is in itself revolting and degrading; and secondly, because nature is so immeasurably superior to all that the human mind can conceive, that every departure from her is a fall beneath her, so that there can be no such thing as an ornamental falsehood. All falsehood must be a blot as well as a sin, an injury as well as a deception."—Vol. i, p. 47.

The rest of the volume is devoted to a discussion of ideas of truth, first considering those general truths common to all objects of nature which are productive of what is usually called in the language of art, "effect;" that is to say, "truths of tone, general color, space, and light; and then investigating the truths of specific form and color in the four great component parts of landscape: sky, earth, water, and vegetation."

We have no space for a multitude of the largest thoughts, clothed in the richest language with which the general truths are discussed. We must confine ourselves to meager selections from the chapters on the four great component parts of landscape. Here is the field where he won his first and, in the judgment of many admirers, his greatest victories. He opens a new world in his discussion of these four old-fashioned elements, declared to be no elements by the naturalist of to-day. The merely scientific eye cleaves their glory as the telescope does that enshrouding the sun, and like it, only dwells on the dull, black molecules within. Ruskin denies the right to destroy by the torture of fire these living organisms, and dwells with a penetrative, but not destructive analysis upon their varied yet perfect expression.

Our selections will be made partly in view of the truths unfolded, and partly in view of the pomp of the language in which they are arrayed. As Columbus dressed himself in extremest splendor when taking possession of the worlds he had discovered, so Ruskin delights to take possession of his new ideas in the ravishments of musical discourse, while he loses nothing of clearness and solidity.

The following description of the effect of color on the highest clouds is a good example of the exactness and minuteness of his statements, as well as the glow and rush of his style:

"Incomparably the noblest manifestations of nature's capability of color are in these sunsets among the high clouds. I speak especially of the moment before the sun sinks, when his light turns pure rose-color, and when this light falls upon a zenith covered with countless cloud-forms of inconceivable delicacy, threads and flakes of vapor which would in common daylight be pure snow white, and which give, therefore, a fair field to the tone of light. There is then no limit to the multitude, and no check to the intensity of the hues assumed. The whole sky, from the zenith to the horizon, becomes one molten, mantling sea of color and fire; every black bar turns into massy gold, every ripple and wave into unsullied, shadowless crimson and purple and scarlet; and colors for which there are no words in language, and no ideas in the mind—things which can only be conceived while they are visible—the intense hollow blue of the upper sky melting through it all, showing here deep and pure and lightless, there modulated by the filmy, formless body of the transparent vapor, till it is lost imperceptibly in its crimson and gold."—Vol. i, p. 158.

His careful and exhaustive examination of the truth of skies and clouds, more scientific than any treatise we are aware of on this subject, and more poetic than any poem, is introduced with the following brilliant and truthful passage:

"It is a strange thing how little in general people know about the sky. It is the part of creation in which nature has done more for the sake of pleasing man, more for the sole and evident purpose of talking to him and teaching him, than in any other of her works, and it is just the part in which we least attend to her. There is not a moment of any day of our lives when she is not producing scene after scene, picture after picture, glory after glory, and working still upon such exquisite and constant principles of the most perfect

beauty, that it is quite certain it is all done for us and intended for our perpetual pleasure. And yet we never attend to it, we never make it a subject of thought, but as it has to do with our animal sensations. If in our moments of utter idleness and insipidity we turn to the sky as a last resource, which of its phenomena do we speak of? One says it has been wet, and another that it has been windy, and another it has been warm. Who among the whole chattering crowd can tell me of the forms and precipices of the chain of tall white mountains that girded the horizon at noon yesterday? Who saw the narrow sunbeams that came out of the south, and smote upon their summits until they melted and mouldered away in a dust of blue rain? Who saw the dance of dead clouds when the sunlight left them last night, and the west wind blew them before it like withered leaves? All has passed away unregretted as unseen."—Vol. i, pp. 201, 202.

He divides the clouds into three strata or regions, according to their height and density: the region of the cirrus, the central cloud region, and that of the rain cloud. In discussing these he gives us many novel and admirable views of this great department of nature, and closes with a wonderful picture of cloud scenery among the mountains from dawn to sunrise, asking at every grand pause in his painting, "Has Claude given this?" and ending with this sublime description of the effect of light on clouds:

"And then wait yet one hour until the east becomes purple, and the heaving mountains of clouds, rolling against it in the darkness like waves of a wild sea, are drowned one by one in the glory of its burning. Watch the white glaciers blaze in their winding paths about the mountains like mighty serpents with scales of fire. Watch the columnar peaks of solitary snow kindling downward chasm by chasm, each in itself a new morning, their long avalanches cast down in keen streams brighter than the lightning, sending each his tribute of driven snow like altar smoke up to heaven; the rose light of their silent domes flushing that heaven about them and above them, piercing with purer light through its purple lines of lifted cloud, casting a new glory on every wreath as it passes by, until the whole heaven—one scarlet canopy—is interwoven with a roof of waving flame, and tossing, vault beyond vault, as with the drifted wings of many companies of angels; and then, when you can look no more for gladness, and when you are bowed down with fear and love of the Maker and Doer of this, tell me who has best delivered this His message unto men!"—Vol. i, p. 261.

He next considers the truth of earth, which he declares to mean

"The faithful representation of the facts and forms of the bare ground considered as entirely divested of vegetation. Ground is to the landscape painter what the naked human body is to the historical."—Vol. i, p. 266.

Examining the laws of earth under this principle, he says:

"Mountains are to the rest of the body of earth what violent muscular action is to the body of man. The muscles and tendons of its anatomy are, in the mountain, brought out with fierce and convulsive energy, full of expression, passion, and strength; the plains and the lower hills are the repose and effortless motion of the frame when its muscles lie dormant and concealed beneath the lines of its beauty, yet ruling these lines in their every undulation. This is the first grand principle of the truth of earth. The spirit of the hills is action, that of the lowlands repose; and between these is to be found every variety of motion and of rest, from the inactive plain, sleeping like the firmament with cities for stars, to the fiery peaks which, with heaving bosoms and

exulting limbs, with the clouds drifting like hair from their bright foreheads, lift up their Titan hands to heaven and say, 'I live forever.'—Vol. i, p. 267.

He closes this division in his usual spirit of reverential awe:

"One lesson we are invariably taught: that the work of the great Spirit of nature is as deep and unapproachable in the lowest as in the noblest objects; that the Divine Mind is as visible in its full energy of operation on every lowly bank and mouldering stone, as in the lifting of the pillars of heaven and settling the foundations of the earth; and that, to the rightly perceiving mind, there is the same infinity, the same majesty, the same power, the same unity, and the same perfection manifest in the casting of the clay as in the scattering of the cloud, in the mouldering of the dust as in the kindling of the day-star."—Vol. i, p. 319.

He is not satisfied with this brief chapter, but devotes a whole volume, the fourth, to the ideas of truth of mountains, which contains such an exhaustive statement of their structure and uses, practical and poetical, and above all, of their religious teachings, filled with such a muse of fire and such veiled and bowed humility, as never yet was uttered by scholar, poet, painter, or preacher. Only the book of God easily and infinitely transcends this speech of man.

His description of water is what we might expect of such a man, being also an Englishman. He opens his discourse in his usual brilliant and fluent manner:

"Of all inorganic substances, acting in their own proper nature and without assistance or combination, water is the most wonderful. If we think of it as the source of all the changefulness and beauty which we have seen in the clouds; then as the instrument by which the earth we have contemplated was modeled into symmetry, and its crags chiseled into grace; then as in the form of snow it robs the mountain it has made with that transcendent light which we could not have conceived if we had not seen; then as it exists in the form of the torrent, in the iris which spans it, in the morning mist that rises from it, in the deep crystalline pools which mirror its hanging shore, in the broad lake and glancing river; finally, in that which is to all human minds the best emblem of unwearied, unconquerable power, the wild, various, fantastic, tameless unity of the sea; what shall we compare to this mighty, this universal element for glory and for beauty? or how shall we follow its eternal changefulness of feeling? It is like trying to paint a soul."—Vol. i, p. 320.

Nevertheless he does try to paint it, and gives us in soberest scientific statement many new ideas concerning water and its relations to color, intermingled with keenest satire on the old masters' ignorance, and grandest eulogies on Turner's apprehension and reproduction of it, these also intermingled with descriptions of natural objects—here a waterfall so marvelously portrayed as to make us hope he will some time see and paint Niagara, and there a stream as it runs, rippling or ringing, from its birthplace among the clouds to its grave in the ocean. He closes the volume with a similar exquisite essay on the truths of vegetation, in which the laws of the construction of trunk, branch, leaf, and flower are set forth with equal fullness, beauty, and originality.



Perhaps we ought not to leave this volume without giving an illustration of that burning satire in which it abounds, which consumes its object in a blaze of wrath. No writer of the age, not Macaulay in his *Barrere*, nor Carlyle in all his onslaughts, leaps upon his victim with a fiercer or a deadlier spring. Take the following as a specimen at once of this power and of the manner of its execution, the object being here as elsewhere, to contrast the feebleness of the artist with the vigor of that which he pretends to copy :

"It appears strange to me that any one familiar with nature and fond of her, should not grow weary and sick at heart, among the melancholy and monotonous transcripts of her which alone can be received from the old school of art. A man accustomed to the broad wild seashore, with its bright breakers and free winds and sounding rocks and eternal sensation of tameless power, can scarcely but be angered when Claude bids him stand still on some paltry, chipped and chiseled quay, with porters and wheelbarrows running against him, to watch a weak, rippling, bound and barriered water that has not strength enough in one of its waves to upset the flowerpots on the wall, or even to fling one jet of spray over the confining stone. A man accustomed to the strength and glory of God's mountains, with their soaring and radiant pinnacles and surging sweeps of measureless distance, kingdoms in their valleys and climates upon their crests, can scarcely but be angered when Salvator bids him stand still under some contemptible fragment of splintery crag which an Alpine snowwreath would smother in its first swell, with a bush or two growing out of it, and a volume of manufactory smoke for a sky. A man accustomed to the grace and infinity of nature's foliage, with every vista a cathedral and every bough a revelation, can scarcely but be angered when Poussin mocks him with a black round mass of impenetrable paint diverging into feathers instead of leaves, and supported on a stick instead of a trunk." —Vol. i, p. 75.

The second volume is devoted to ideas of beauty. It is by far the most profound and religious essay on this attractive yet indescribable theme that our language possesses. It has but little of the sarcastic and descriptive with which the first volume abounds, and is evidently written apart from man, with the eye fixed on the extremest abstractions, which only imagination or faith can perceive, and God create.

He defines the sense of beauty to be neither sensual nor intellectual, but moral. He divides this "*Theoria*," as he calls the capacity for beauty, into two classes, typical and vital, or that which is mere material loveliness, though representative of the highest attributes of God, and that which is originally endowed with the superior quality of life.

His classification of typical beauty shows the spirituality of his conceptions. It combines in itself "infinity, or the type of divine incomprehensibility; unity, or the type of divine comprehensiveness; repose, or the type of divine permanence; symmetry, or the type of divine justice; purity, or the type of divine energy; and moderation, or the type of divine law." These qualities he elaborates in his usual sharpness and swiftness of style, though imbued with more



than his usual humility and devotion, as one who feels that he stands, unsandaled from earthly passions and prejudices, on the holy ground of the Divine Presence.

He closes the volume with a portrayal of the differences between heathen and Christian schools of art in respect to beauty; and strange as it may seem to the devotees of Greece, he sets it far below the Italy of the middle ages in its perception of this divine idea, because Italy was Christian, and Greece, heathen. We have no space for the discussion, but cannot withhold a brief extract from the conclusion:

"The Greek could not conceive a spirit; he could do nothing without limbs; his god is a finite god, talking, pursuing, and going: journeys. I know not anything in the range of art more unspiritual than the Apollo Belvidere; the raising of the fingers in surprise at the truth of the arrow would be vulgar in a prince, much more in a deity. The sandals destroy the divinity of the foot, and the lip is curled with mortal passion. . . . Gather what we may of great from pagan chisel and pagan dream, and set it beside the orderer of Christian warfare, Michael the Archangel: not Milton's 'with hostile brow and visage all inflamed;' not even Milton's in the kingly treading of the hills of Paradise; not Raffaele's with the expanded wings and brandished spear; but Perugino's with his triple crest of traceless plume unshaken in heaven, his hand fallen on his crossleted sword, the truth-girdle binding his undinted armor. God has put his power upon him, resistless radiance is on his limbs, no lines are there of earthly strength, no trace on the divine features of earthly anger; trustful and thoughtful, fearless but full of love, incapable except of the repose of eternal conquest, vessel and instrument of omnipotence filled like a cloud with the victor light, the dust of principalities and powers beneath his feet. the murmur of hell against him heard by his spiritual ear like the winding of a shell on the far off seashore.

"It is in vain to attempt to pursue the comparison; the two orders of art have in them nothing common, and the field of sacred history, the intent and scope of Christian feeling, are too wide and exalted to admit of the juxtaposition of any other sphere or order of conception; they embrace all other fields like the dome of heaven."—Vol. ii, p. 217.

In the three remaining volumes we had marked scores of passages for quotation, glowing with the celestial fire of original thought and magnificent expression. But our limits forbid. We shall refer to them again in considering the spirit which animates him in all his inquiries, but so far as their subject-matter is concerned must refer the student to their crowded pages.

The third volume dwells on the whole scope of landscape painting, and shows how far its devotees have fallen short of, or approached to, its lofty ideal. The fourth volume, as we have remarked, dwells on mountain forms and influences; and while its accuracy of scientific statement is remarkable, this sober mood no more conflicts with the vehemence and delicacy of his imagination than the rugged rocks mar the loveliness of the glory that stoops upon them from the heights of heaven.

The fifth volume, which closes the work, develops the Ideas of truth in the Leaf and the Cloud, as well as those of intellectual relation. In discussing the latter, he gives many admirable reviews of the artistic masters of these ideas, closing in his usual grand strain of deepest devotion.

While everybody was wondering after him as he thus leveled the old, and set up the new gods in this temple of genius, he published a brief treatise bearing the expressive title, "The Seven Lamps of Architecture." Like Michael Angelo, he sought for distinction in the building of the temple as well as in the adorning of it, and like him he won it.

The seven lamps are the seven golden candlesticks, set apart chiefly for the service of God. Some of them are only kindled, and none of them shine with their perfect luster, except when burning on his altar. These lamps he calls the Lamp of Sacrifice, of Truth, of Power, of Beauty, of Life, of Memory, of Obedience. Each of these is made of the pure gold of the sanctuary, and filled with its beaten oil. Within the compass of no human book are there more fervent prayers, more earnest sermons, more wailing *misereres*, or more exultant halleluiahs. Its every page is full of genius and of piety. Here too is found that practical mind, sober and mathematical, which weighs and measures every stone that goes into the temple, and does not hesitate to drop to these duties from the loftiest flights of lyric praise. Like the angel whom the revelator would worship, while opening our ravished eyes upon divine glories hitherto hidden, he has also the "surveyor's reed" wherewith to measure "the city." Nowhere is the lash of satire more terribly or more justly applied. All the falsehoods that are told in brick and mortar, in paint and wood, are denounced by him with a vigor that is healthful to witness. There is no subject of taste that deserves equal attention with this. The arts of painting and sculpture are only for ornament, and come within the reach of the rich alone. They are not converted into "human nature's daily food." But architectural duties and delights press upon every community and congregation. No subject is of more importance to all classes of our land to-day than this.

As a nation we are emerging from poverty, and the contempt that usually accompanies it for all adornings of our outward estate. We are in danger of the opposite extreme. Poverty rightly endeavors to reconcile our mind to our state, but wrongly strives to subdue it to its condition. It sometimes succeeds in this wrong doing. It has so succeeded here, as has been shown in our general want of taste, and especially in the deformities of what should

be the type of perfect beauty—the *House* of God. God did not let the wandering fugitives, thousands of years ago, fall into such barbarities as we have long indulged in. They fashioned their tabernacle after patterns made in heaven; we, ours, after models that are not worthy to claim even earth as their origin. All denominations have plunged into these tasteless absurdities. The bad example was set at the beginning of our history. Puritanism not only stripped the creed of all qualifying and comforting language, it stripped the service of its memories and tendernesses, and the structure of all comeliness of form or adorning. The baldest, nakedest conception of God and man, of Church and ceremony, were the manifestations of its piety. Here and there, minds adorned like Milton's would revolt from them, and amid their comfortless conventicles cry out:

"But let my due feet never fail  
To walk the studious cloister's pale,  
And love the high-embowered roof,  
With antique pillars massy proof,  
And storied windows, richly dight,  
Casting a dim religious light.  
Then let the pealing organ blow  
To the full-voiced quire below,  
In service high and anthems clear,  
As may with sweetness, through mine ear,  
Dissolve me into ecstasies,  
And bring all heaven before mine eyes."

This nakedness of worship and temple was transferred to our country and became a part of our national religion, so that when Methodism arose, it could not rise superior to this prejudice. It poured its affluent life through these rude and narrow channels. With everything else of the most liberal character; with a system of faith, free and full as the needs and nature of man, as the infinitude of God; with hymns which range on mighty wings through the whole heaven of divine love and terror, of human penitence and joy, with a style of life co-ordinate to these, lofty, free, spacious—a singing, shouting, exulting life, it needed perhaps some narrow walls to keep its vigor from excess, to buckle what might otherwise have proved,

"A distempered cause  
Within the belt of rule."

These walls must be strong to keep the mighty tide in due restraint, to make the spirits of the prophets subject to the prophets. Hence, no Church in many of its forms, and especially in its edifices, has been more stringent than ours. The plainest of dresses, no aid to the voice in singing, separation of men and women in the congre-

gation, buildings barren of beauty; these were its methods, stiff and ugly, wherewith it restrained its divine beauty and life of doctrine and feeling within the narrow bounds of human prejudice. It put the new wine of the kingdom in strong but shapeless bottles, its sound mind in a sound but ungainly body. Thus prejudice or poverty has compelled all Churches to put their divine ideas into unworthy forms.

But with an increase of wealth, of communication with the Old World, and especially of growth in religious experience, a change of sentiment on this subject has been going on in all denominations, and we are in danger of swinging to the other extreme. Wealth is often tasteless, and more frequently devotionless. Vanity, in its efforts to cope with wealth, shows its inherent baseness and falsehood. These are tempting us to adopt ridiculous and lying counterfeits.

A thin coat of stone is pasted on the front of a city church, while coarse cheap brick make up the real wall and stand forth in all their meanness on the other sides. A yet greater departure from truth and righteousness is seen in the more popular, and we trust, more transient, abomination of covering the cheap brick with cheaper mortar, streaking this into lines like stone, and mounting its cornices and steeples with ornaments of *papier maché*, or something equally false and perishable. This deceit is more perfect in intention, and hence more wicked. There is a reality about the stone front though of a thin and unsubstantial sort. There is only fiction in the striped mortar and *papier maché*. The plain, wooden, misshapen churches of our fathers were greatly superior to these in truthfulness, and even in sacrifice; for they gave the best they had, and out of their poverty of sentiment as well as purse, reared poor but honest temples to God. We out of our abundance offer these shams. Well does Ruskin consume with burning wrath all such pretentious efforts to cheat the Lord:

"Exactly as a woman of feeling would not wear false jewels, so would a builder of honor disdain false ornaments. The using of them is just as downright and inexcusable a lie. You use that which pretends to a worth it has not, which pretends to cost and to be what it did not and is not; it is an imposition, a vulgarity, an impertinence, and a sin. Down with it to the ground, grind it to powder, leave its ragged place upon the wall rather. You have not paid for it, you have no business with it, you do not want it. Nobody wants ornaments in this world, but everybody wants integrity. All the fair devices that ever were fancied are not worth a lie. Leave your walls as bare as a planed board, or build them of baked mud and chopped straw if need be, but do not roughcast them with falsehood."—P. 44.

We know of no matter, not purely devotional, more important than this: the true idea of the building which is to be given to God and occupied only in his worship. We are constantly erecting them, and are as constantly tempted to violate the great principles

of the *beauty of holiness* in the discharge of this duty. If Moses and Solomon, eminent as they were for natural gifts, were both aided, not only by architects of great genius, but by the Divine Architect, in the construction of the tabernacle and temple, we certainly ought not to engage in this costly, solemn, and excellent service without a faithful and prayerful seeking for all the light He will grant us. And we know of no treatise on church building, no costly collection of plates and diagrams, that for real value compares with this brief essay. Portions of it that dwell on some of the more recondite principles of the art, and their application in some of the great structures of antiquity, may be beyond the range of ordinary clerical scholarship; but its general principles are so simple and grand, its illustrations drawn from the richest stores of religious architecture, and its whole scope and tone so reverent and devotional, that no man can rise from its perusal without being conscious of great increase of light on this common, but generally misunderstood duty.

We proposed a second question of no slight importance: What was the spirit in which these researches had been made and announced? It has been partially answered in the selections we have made, and in our reflections upon them. Yet one peculiarity of his spiritual nature deserves a more emphatic statement; a peculiarity, we regret to say, that belongs almost to him alone of all the eminent litterateurs of the age. We rejoice to add that it is a prophecy also of what shall shine forth in a coming, we trust not far distant, period, as the central glory of literature no less than of art. It is the evangelical sentiment with which his writings are imbued. Hardly one of the great writers of the past or present generation can be called in any thorough sense, Christian. With the exception of Cowper, among the eminent poets, not one of all that wondrous galaxy that "flamed in the forehead of the morning sky" of this century reflected his glory on the "bright and morning Star," from whose golden urn they all drew the light of genius in which they shone. Not one advocated the cardinal doctrines of the Gospel. Wordsworth obscurely hints at them in one or two indifferent sentences. His mighty flights are not to this empyrean. Campbell, Scott, Keats, Moore, Shelley, Byron, Burns, and Coleridge, in all their burning pages there are no burning seraphim, prostrate and praising. Some of them, and they the most dissolute, did write a few hymns the Church condescends to sing. In maudlin moments of recovery from debauch, Burns and Moore and Byron sang of God and Christ in tender, though to them powerless words. They usually took their vast treasures of God-given genius and cast them at the feet of Satan. The others, if less wicked, were not more holy. They and their songs

were of the earth, earthy. Equally alien are the living magnates of this realm. Truly does Ruskin say of these and other cotemporaries :

"Nearly all our powerful men in this age of the world are unbelievers ; the best of them in doubt and misery, the worst in reckless defiance ; the plurality in plodding hesitation, doing as well as they can what practical work lies ready to their hands. Most of our scientific men are of this last class. Our popular authors either set themselves definitely against all religious form, pleading for simple truth and benevolence, (Thackeray, Dickens,) or give themselves up to bitter and fruitless statement of facts, (De Balzac,) or surface painting, (Scott,) or careless blasphemy, sad or smiling, (Byron, Beranger.) Our earnest poets and deepest thinkers are doubtful and indignant, (Tennyson, Carlyle,) one or two anchored, indeed, but anxious or weeping, (Wordsworth, Mrs. Browning,) and of these two the first is not so sure of his anchor but that now and then it drags with him, even to make him cry out :

'Great God ! I had rather be  
A pagan suckled on a creed outworn :  
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,  
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn.'

"In politics religion is now a name, in art a hypocrisy or affectation. Over German religious pictures, the inscription 'See how pious I am' can be read at a glance by any clear-sighted person ; over French and English religious pictures, the inscription 'See how impious I am' is equally legible. All sincere and modest art is, among us, profane."—*Modern Painters*, vol. iii, p. 259.

The like painful truth must be told of American literature. From Washington Irving, its father, to the latest of his sons, no great genius has yet shone forth "appareled in celestial light." None of them drink of

"Siloa's brook that flowed  
Fast by the oracle of God."

They seek their inspiration in lower fountains. Excepting Whittier, our few famous poets, Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, Poe, never cast their crowns at the feet of Christ. A most dismal and infidel vision of death is in the stately *Thanatopsis*. It has no hint that Christ is its victor, or of the corresponding victory in and through him. Its last lines might have been written by Sophocles or Seneca, for all they contain of the light and immortality that is brought to life in the Gospel. So the Hymn to Death, the Future State, and whatever other of his pieces that are of a religious tone, are but the mournful breathings of an *Æolian harp*, the singings and sighings of an earth-bound soul.

From Longfellow's Psalm of Life to his Rhyme of Miles Standish there is the same insensibility to the glory of God and of man that shines in the face of Jesus Christ. He often gilds his numbers with a devotional tinge, but never does one gushing verse leap forth from that full fountain to its Lord and Saviour. Compare his first hymn, which he dares to call a *Psalm of LIFE*, and which he says is what the heart of the young man says to the Psalmist, with that



hymn with which David begins his odes, and which is what the heart of God through that Psalmist says to all young men. How cold, how worldly, how unbelieving is the one; how warm, holy, heavenly the other. The Rhyme of Miles Standish afforded an admirable opportunity to utter these feelings, and had he been a real Christian poet he could not have kept silence. That great pilgrimage, its greater incentives and supports, the heroic faith, the serene patience, the triumphant deaths in that terrible winter, have they found expression in this beautiful chronicle? Not a word of real praise or prayer, not a word of the Christ they loved and had followed into this wilderness, not even a hint, is found in all these lines. Once Priscilla is represented as singing sweet tunes out of the old Dutch psalm-book, but this remote allusion to the piety of the heroine is only introduced for the sake of uttering a conceit on the appearance of the tunes. The conversation of the lovers, of the friends at the sailing of the Mayflower, of the captain and his clerk, even of the elder and his parishioners, is empty of the intense and almost exclusive life which they really lived. So is it with all his rich verses. There is a show of religious sentiment in some of them, but not one pulsation of Christian life.

Lowell and Holmes are imitators of Burns and Byron, not only in their democratic and reformatory proclivities, but in blasphemy and in wit, without the penitence of the one or the remorse of the other to redeem their pages. They toy with the religious sentiment. They never feel its humiliating, elevating power. No Cotter's Saturday Night shows that the sorrow is as deep as the scorn, that a godly fear sometimes replaces the godless scurrility. Holmes, in prose and poetry, is but a cold-blooded dissectionist of a life he never lived. He cuts and carves the body of Christ professedly in the cause of science. He never reaches, he never beholds, the divinity that dwells within it. Our prose writers are equally secular. Bancroft can describe the sufferings of the pilgrims, Prescott those of the Protestants of Holland, without any such throbbings of indignant sympathy as Milton felt when he bled and suffered with the Albigenses. Emerson is a brilliant but Christless heathen. Their followers keep equal pace in these respects, however far they may fail in others. We have no great literary writers, save, perhaps, Mrs. Stowe, who are wreathing with their genius the cross of Christ. Tennyson's painful confession leaps unwittingly from all their lips:

"But what am I?

An infant crying in the night;

An infant crying for the light;

And with no language but a cry!"



We wait for our Dante and our Milton, who shall pour their alabaster box of ointment, very costly, on the feet of the blessed Redeemer, and feel that in so doing they have done the greatest deed permitted to man, and gained their greatest glory when this deed shall be told for a memorial of them through the races and ages. They will arise, for Christ must be crowned king of letters, as he now is king of saints.

To this end Ruskin will be no small contributor. It is refreshing for a Christian mind to open his pages. No darkness, no weakness of faith, no slurs at piety, no ignoring of divine justice and holiness, no emasculation of the word of God, but a full, hearty, living flow of Christian faith and hope and joy.

It crops out naturally, as if this primitive bed held all the superincumbent strata in its arms. It leaps up easily and instantly wherever a fissure occurs, as if fountains of the living water pervaded his whole nature. It crowns unconsciously the swell of his grandest sentences. Except Jeremy Taylor, he is the first great prose writer since Milton that has risen to the height of this great argument.

Hundreds of paragraphs attest the sincerity of his devotion. His descriptions of great religious paintings are imbued with a reverence equaling if not surpassing the artist's; his scorn of all pretensions to piety which popularity demanded but the heart did not feel; the proud superiority which he accords to those who, inferior in art, were superiors in godliness; his assertion that landscape painting is a religious art, and that its want of real success arises from its want of real religion; especially his discourses on Christ, his forerunners and successors, in connection with the nature that He consecrated, these abundantly prove that whatever be his private life, his published one is Christian. If he is not orthodox his writings are. If he is a man of the world his works are those of a man of God.

Thus touchingly and religiously he turns away from the Seven Lamps that he has set in the temple of the Lord. Where can you find its like among his associate writers?

"I have paused, not once nor twice, as I wrote, and often have checked the course of what might otherwise have been importunate persuasion, as the thought has crossed me, how soon all architecture may be vain except that which is not made with hands. There is something ominous in the light which has enabled us to look back with disdain upon the ages, among whose lovely vestiges we have been wandering. I could smile when I hear the hopeful exultation of many at the new reach of worldly science and vigor of worldly effort, as if we were at the beginning of days. *There is thunder on the horizon as well as dawn. The sun was risen upon the earth when Lot entered Zoar.*" — *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, p. 177.

In the "Stones of Venice" he thus dwells on the necessity of holiness in man, showing that without it we are nothing:

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"All the divisions of humanity are noble or brutal, immortal or mortal, according to the degree of their sanctification; and there is no part of man which is not immortal and divine when it is once given to God, and no part of him which is not mortal by the second death, and brutal before the first, when it is withdrawn from God. For to what shall we trust for our distinction from the beasts that perish? To our higher intellect? Yet are we not bidden to be as wise as the serpent, and to consider the ways of the ant? or to our affections? Nay! these are more shared by the lower animals than our intelligence! Hamlet leaps into the grave of his beloved, and leaves it—a dog had stayed. Humanity and immortality consist neither in reason nor in love, not in the body nor in the animation of the heart of it, nor in the thoughts and stirrings of the brain of it, but in the dedication of them all to Him who will raise them up at the last day."—Vol. i, p. 43.

The "Modern Painters," as we cannot fail to have noticed in what we have selected, is full of such religious reflections. In the first volume he scarcely touches a painting, religious or not, that he does gild with the nimbus of Christ.

The second volume, as we have seen, makes all typical beauty representative of the attributes of God, and all vital beauty centre in Him who is life, and in whom all things live and move and have their being.

The third volume is written in the same key, and its music fails not to sweep high as heaven on solemn wing.

But the fourth, contains his fullest and noblest declarations of this sentiment. As in all the others, it is not introduced theologically or sermonically, but under the natural law of his theme and its befitting treatment. As in Milton and Dante, these sacred themes arise legitimately, and ascend their supreme throne amid the prostration of those who have ministered to their advent, so is it in Ruskin. He does not shut them out; he reverently welcomes them, and ushers them to their shining seats.

In the chapter on the firmament, he has the following exegesis on this word as used in Genesis, saying:

"I imagine that the unscientific reader of this book could hardly glance at the sky when the rain was falling in the distance and see the level line of the bases of the clouds from which the shower descended, without being able to attach an instant and easy meaning to the words, 'expansion in the midst of the waters;' and if, having once seized this idea, he proceeded to examine it more accurately, he would perceive at once, if he had ever noticed *anything* of the nature of clouds, that the level line of their bases did indeed most severely and stringently divide 'waters from waters,' that is to say, divide water in its collective and tangible state from water in its divided and aerial state, or the waters which *fall* and *flow*, from those which *rise* and *float*." P. 81.

After showing how this view comports with other passages in the Bible, and how they all are intended to teach us the nearness of God, he says, with a humility rarely seen in a student of nature:

"In order to render this communion [with man] possible, the Deity has stooped from his throne and has not only, in the person of the Son, taken upon him the

vail of our human flesh, but, in the person of the Father, taken upon him the veil of our human *thoughts*, and permitted us by his own spoken authority to conceive him simply and clearly as a loving father and friend, a being to be walked with and reasoned with, to be moved by our entreaties, angered by our rebellion, alienated by our coldness, pleased by our love, and glorified by our labor, and finally, to be beheld in immediate and active presence in all the powers and changes of creation. This conception of God, which is the child's, is evidently the only one that can be universal, and therefore the only one which, *for us*, can be true. The moment that, in our pride of heart, we refuse to accept the condescension of the Almighty, and desire him, instead of stooping to hold our hands, to rise up before us into his glory; we hoping that, by standing on a grain of dust or two of human knowledge higher than our fellows we may behold the Creator as he rises, God takes us at our word; he rises into his own inconceivable majesty, he goes forth upon the ways that are not our ways, and retires into the thoughts which are not our thoughts, and we are left alone. And presently we say in our vain thoughts, 'There is no God.'"—P. 83.

Let us close our liberal quotations with the sublime ending of the chapter on mountain glory, with which this volume concludes. He had been describing in great splendor of diction the deaths of Aaron and Moses as glorifying the mountains, and then turns to the transfiguration of Christ, upon which he pours a flood of reverent and radiant thought, closing thus:

"We shall not have unprofitably entered into the mind of the earlier ages, if among our other thoughts, as we watch the chains of snowy mountains rise on the horizon, we should sometimes admit the memory of the hour in which their *Creator, among the solitudes, entered on his travail for the salvation of our race*; and indulge the dream, that as the flaming and trembling mountains of the earth seem to be the monuments of the manifesting of his terror on Sinai, these pure and white hills, near to the heaven and sources of all good to the earth, are the appointed memorials of that light of his mercy that fell, snowlike, on the mount of transfiguration."—P. 375.

It ought not to be unnoticed,\* in connection with this frankness and fullness of Christian utterance, as a painful proof of the timidity and unbelief of others, that a work just issued from the American press describing the White Mountains, though written by a clergy-

\* The last volume was published since this essay was prepared. We find in it no shrinking from the truths with which the others are adorned and supported. Its closing pages dwell exclusively on religious duty and its rewards. Thus plainly does he declare the whole counsel of God in his final sentence:

"High on the desert mountain, full desecrated, sits throned the tempter, with his old promise—the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them. He still calls you to your labor, as Christ to your rest: labor and sorrow, base desire and cruel hope. So far as you desire to possess, rather than to give; so far as you look forward to command, instead of to bless; so long as you seek to be greatest instead of least, first instead of last; so long you are serving the lord of all that is last and least, the last enemy that shall be destroyed—Death; and you shall have death's crown with the worm coiled in it, and death's wages with the worm feeding on them; kindred of the earth shall you yourself become, saying to the grave, 'Thou art my father,' and to the worm, 'Thou art my mother and my sister.'

"I leave you to judge and to choose between this labor and this bequeathed peace, this wages and the gift of the Morning Star, this obedience and the doing of the will which shall enable you to claim another kindred than of earth, and to hear another voice than that of the grave, saying, 'My brother and sister and mother.'"

man, and abounding in beautiful quotations and reflections, has no hint of the Christian lessons taught by the everlasting hills; and while it quotes freely from this volume, Ruskin's grand and scientific portraiture of mountain forms, carefully ignores those sublimer passages in which the whole work culminates, and which alone bring before us the true conception of their value as connected with Him who, ages before his incarnation, rejoiced in the creation of these highest parts of the dust of the world. If professed ministers of Jesus Christ are so afraid to give him his rightful seat in literature and nature, what must we expect of the unrobed worshipers?

We have endeavored to present some of the more salient excellences of this famous writer. A multitude of lesser thoughts flash beneath his feet as he rushes on in his vehement course to his lofty goal, thoughts full of suggestion to every class of writers. His style, like that of all the masters of speech, is his own, and is admirably fitted to the peculiarities of his thought. It is picturesque and glowing as the most brilliant landscape. Like the mighty river of the west, with its spring floods in its channels, its spring flowers on its banks, its proud fleet on its bosom, winding, swift, long, graceful, odorous, magnificent, so flows the river of his speech. Not the short, sharp musketry of Macaulay, always the same, whether fired in single shots or in deadly platoons; not the tangled torrid forests of Carlyle, full of wondrous life but impassible to human steps; not "the gulfs of sweetness without bound" in which Tennyson swims, nor the cold, curt crystalline of Emerson, glittering with the frozen beauty of Arctic ice; but like that nature whom he, the most intelligently and piously, loves of all her worshipers. It is now gorgeous as a sunset, now simple as a daisy; now flashing in annihilating lightning, and drowning with overwhelming deluge the doomed subjects of its wrath, and now gathering up its thick folds and burning arrows, it glides away into the June morning full of music, fragrance, and calm.

Like nature, too, it has characteristics not so pleasing. Its cloudiness is not always transparent or golden. It is sometimes either incomprehensible for want of clearness in himself, or, what is full as likely, for want of comprehensibility in the reader. It is also like nature in its apparent versatility of opinion. The winds blow with great rapidity of change from all points of the compass. He has been condemned for this trait more than for any other. But it arises naturally from the different aspects in which every great man can be viewed, and he is as severe in denouncing that which they lack as he is in praising that in which they abound. For instance, Titian is commended as a colorist, but denounced as sketcher of forms of vege-

tation. Hence in the chapter of truths of color he might be lauded, in that of truths of vegetation scourged. He also declares it to be necessary thus to seemingly deny yourself if you would be true to truth. In his lecture before the Cambridge school of art he playfully says :

"Perhaps some of my hearers may have heard that I am rather apt to contradict myself. I hope I am exceedingly apt to do so. I never met with a question yet of any importance that did not need for the right solution of it at least one positive and one negative answer, like an equation of the second degree. Most matters of any importance are three-sided or four-sided or polygonal, and the trotting round a polygon is severe work for people any way stiff in their opinions. For myself, I am never satisfied that I have handled a subject properly till I have contradicted myself three times."

In spite of these defects, if defects they be, that inhere in all human things, his works are a still lesson if not a law to artists. To him more than to any other man do they owe the lesson of humble faithful obedience of nature. Before he arose they esteemed their genius as greater than that which poured through her. He taught them that all art was the feeblest shadowing forth of her supernal grandeur; that a little pigment, ranging from black paint to white, and a bit of canvas, would fall infinitely short of reproducing those spectacles that have the scope of heaven for their canvas, and the colors of heaven, from the sun shining in his strength to midnight clad in thunder robes, on their palette, with infinite genius to mingle and arrange them. He taught them more than this : that nature is animate with Deity, even with the Deity of Christ. Him he beholds not only coming, but dwelling in the clouds of heaven. He yet walks the waves not only of Galilee but of all seas. He cleaves the skies that glow forever under his burning feet. He transfigures the mountains with the perpetual overflowing of his uncreated glory. Thus art becomes the handmaid of religion, and may be permitted to serve her in the adorning of the temple where God in Christ is seen and worshiped.

She has felt his influence. A new school acknowledges him as its founder. Architecture is feeling it. The Church cannot "grow as grows the grass" unless its architects have "visitations from the living God," who alone can give them types of those perfections which flashed before the eyes of Moses in the mount.

Not only should the student of art make him his companion, but the student of nature will also find him a guide both in the insight which he seeks, and in keeping himself from the perils of irreverence and unbelief to which his studies will tempt him. Above all, the minister at the altar should read him, for he who enters the holy of holies ought to be conversant with the forms and meanings of lesser ceremonies. He who offers the life of God to the soul of man, should

know that life in its weaker yet divine force that flows through the inferior creation. He will find the other book of God of which he is the appointed interpreter is in closest sympathy with this earlier but lesser revelation. That begins with a description of nature as it emerged from nothing by the voice of God, and as it assumed form and comeliness in the heavens and on the earth under his creative guidance. It closes with a description of the same nature as it shall re-emerge from a new chaos of fire under the decree of the same Son of God, and shall be fashioned into new heavens and new earth. It is full of descriptions of her loveliest aspects—the primeval perfect garden, the garden of Canaan, and “the statelier Eden come again.” The highest notes of the Psalmist’s harp ring with praises of nature; the grandest visions of the prophets are painted with its scenery; the sweetest sayings of the Saviour are full of its fragrance.

Thus discerning the unity of the kingdoms of nature and grace, and “the fullness of Him that filleth all in all” pervading both systems with his ineffable infinitude, he will be able to say with far more profound and spiritual significance than he felt who first uttered it :

“Be mute who will, who can,  
Yet I will praise Thee with impassioned voice;  
Me did’st thou consecrate a priest of thine,  
In such a temple as surrounds my soul,  
Reared for thy presence; therefore, am I bound  
To worship here and everywhere, as one,  
From unreflecting ignorance preserved,  
And from debasement rescued.”

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#### ART. II.—THE FLORIDA MAROONS.

*The Exiles of Florida*; or, *The Crimes committed by our Government against the Maroons, who fled from South Carolina and other Slave States, seeking Protection under Spanish Laws.* By JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS. Columbus, Ohio: Follett, Foster, & Co. 1858.

MR. GIDDINGS’S book has had a large sale, and its well-authenticated narrative has made a strong impression on the public mind. Its simple story makes it abundantly evident that slavery is not only a stupendous wrong in itself, but that it clouds the sense of justice in the state, corrupts the judiciary, paralyzes the arm of the executive officer, and retards the development of the nation. It may be true that the story is marred by the idiosyncrasies of its venerable author: but, on the other hand, his habits of research,



his long familiarity, as a member of Congress, with the documentary history of the nation, and his liberal quotations from official letters, reports, and state papers, have enabled him so to fortify his statements as to put them beyond reasonable question.

It will be remembered that Florida, down to 1819, was under the dominion of Spain. The settlements were small, and on the coast or the larger rivers; while the interior was a vast wilderness, known only to the Indians. Slavery was then the universal usage of the emigrants, and many attempts were made to enslave the Indians as well as the negroes. But, accustomed as they were to a wild, roving life, these efforts were attended with indifferent success, as they could easily fly from their masters to the forest, where they were always at home and where they found a secure refuge.

In the Carolinas the attempts to enslave the Indians were not only a failure, but rendered more insecure the bondage of the negroes. The ease with which they escaped to the shelter of the Georgia forests encouraged the negroes to undertake similar enterprises; and as the Indian country, as Georgia was then called, presented only a partial protection against the slave hunter, they pursued their way south into Florida, where they were cordially welcomed, permitted to occupy lands on the same condition as other citizens, and soon became a free and flourishing community.

As early as 1738 these refugees had become so numerous that the authorities of South Carolina sent a messenger to the Governor of St. Augustine, with a demand that they should be surrendered to their former owners. The refusal of this demand was the cause of much complaint; and Florida thenceforward became an asylum for the more enterprising sons of bondage in the border states.

In 1750 a quarrel occurred among the Creek Indians, inhabiting the Indian country in Georgia, and a large body, under a distinguished chief, left the tribe and went south into Florida, where they were well received, and had lands assigned them in the vicinity of the negroes. Here they had an organization entirely distinct from the Creeks, elected their own chiefs, and bore the name of Seminoles, which is the Indian word for runaways.

The Indians and negroes fraternized, and lived together in peace on the rich bottoms of the Appalachicola and Sewanee rivers, where they grew in numbers and wealth, and had large flocks and herds. The negroes increased, not only by natural production, but by accessions from the border states, and nothing occurred to disturb them in the "even tenor" of their security till subsequent to the revolutionary war.

Georgia had now become a state, and her people were large slave-



holders. The white population encroached steadily on the Creek reservations, producing frequent disputes and collisions, which were generally compromised to the disadvantage of the Indians. In that early period of our history one uniform source of trouble between the Indians and the whites was as to runaway slaves. All along the Indian border, and far up in the interior states, there were frequent escapes of slaves from their masters, who were supposed to find homes and shelter among the Indians; and in all the treaties made between the whites and the Indians, there was sure to be inserted some stipulation in reference to the payment for escaped slaves, the harboring of slaves, the return of slaves, etc., etc.

The Maroon settlements in Florida were objects of particular dislike, for the reason that they were originally made up of escaped slaves, and were still supposed to be a shelter for such as succeeded in getting safely through the Indian country. But, being under Spanish rule, no practical method of breaking them up seemed to present itself, short of an acquisition of the territory, which, for this reason, became a favorite idea in all the border states, and in 1811 was agitated in Congress, and a law actually passed in secret session for taking forcible possession of the country. This gave rise to several military expeditions from Georgia into Florida, one of which penetrated as far as the Maroon settlements, burned the Indian villages, destroyed the cornfields of the negroes, and drove off large herds of cattle.

This unjustifiable conduct naturally engendered a bitter feeling toward the United States, then at war with Great Britain; and the English, to avail themselves of some advantage from it, sent Lieutenant Colonel Nichols up the Appalachicola River to defend the settlements, and probably with the expectation of enlisting the negroes and Indians in the service of the king. He built a fort on the river, mounted on it eight pieces of artillery, furnished it with small arms and ammunition, and drew around him a large force, which he was preparing for active service, when peace was proclaimed and he was recalled. Colonel Nichols, on evacuating the fort in the spring of 1815, left it, with its cannon, arms, and stores, to the allies, whose lands lay along the river, above and below the fort, making it an important acquisition to them, and greatly increasing their means of security against further incursions from the states.

But what appeared to be so much for their security proved to be a cruel instrument of destruction. The fort was regarded as a depot for runaway slaves, and became at once an object of suspicion. General Gaines, who was in command on the border, wrote to the

War Department in May that "certain negroes and outlaws have taken possession of a fort on the Appalachicola River," and that their movements should be carefully watched. From that time his correspondence makes frequent mention of the Maroons as "run-aways," "outlaws," "pirates," "murderers," etc.; but no specific charges of wrong were made against them, and especially no acts of hostility against the United States. The weight of evidence seems to be that they were pursuing their occupations in a peaceful spirit, with no thought beyond the incoming crops.

The Secretary of War, having his attention so frequently called to the "Negro Fort," wrote to General Jackson, then in command of the Southern Division, on the subject; and General Jackson (in May, 1816) wrote to General Gaines, saying: "I have little doubt that this fort has been established by some villains for the purpose of rapine and plunder, and that it ought to be blown up, regardless of the ground on which it stands; and if your mind shall have formed the same conclusion, destroy it and *return the stolen negroes to their rightful owners.*" The mind of General Gaines was of the same opinion, and he only needed this order to impel him to immediate action. He at once secured the aid of five hundred friendly Creeks, under their chief, M'Intosh, detailed Colonel Clinch and his regiment, with two pieces of artillery, and two gun-boats under the orders of Sailing-master Loomis, who in due time reached the spot marked for vengeance. The Maroons, and a few of their Indian allies, had taken refuge in the fort, and were prepared to defend it to the last. But General Clinch, finding that he made no impression upon it with his batteries, prepared hot shot, and threw them in upon the magazine, which exploded with a most awful devastation.

The fort was small and the people gathered in it numerous, and death, in its most horrid form, awaited the innocent victims. Some were buried in the ruins, some torn from limb to limb, some thrown high into the air, and some crushed by falling timbers. Of three hundred and thirty-four souls who had sought the protection of its walls, two hundred and seventy were instantly killed; and of the remaining sixty-four only *three* were without injury. Two of these were given over to the Creeks for slaughter, and were massacred on the spot as chiefs. The wounded were put on the gun-boats, and such as recovered were given over to pretended claimants as slaves. *The dead were forever free.\**

\* Twenty-two years subsequent to the capture of this property and the massacre of those who were in possession of it, a bill was reported in the House of Representatives, and passed, granting five thousand dollars to the officers, ma-

This act of wanton aggression and wholesale murder may be set down as the beginning of that long and bloody struggle, of which the world has heard so much, under the name of the Florida War. The Seminoles, who had freely intermarried with the Maroons, lost about thirty of their number by the explosion, and General Gaines was not mistaken in supposing that they would soon be on the alert for vengeance.

Early in 1817 the Maroons and Seminoles were reported to be gathering in bodies, as if for war; and in November a boat's company, ascending the Appalachicola, with women and children, under the escort of Lieutenant Scott and forty men, were attacked by a band of Indians and Maroons, and the whole party massacred, with the exception of six soldiers, who made good their escape. This severe retaliation for the wanton destruction at "Blount's Fort" struck the nation with horror, and the President alluded to it in his message to Congress, declaring that the hostilities of the Indians were *unprovoked*, and that "Spain was bound by treaty to restrain them from committing depredations against the United States." Orders were issued to carry the war into Florida, and to call on the neighboring states for troops; and General Jackson, with his accustomed energy, put himself at the head of a large force, and crossed the boundaries of the United States, penetrated far into the Indian country, burned the settlements of the Maroons, beat the allies in several hotly contested battles, laid waste their fields, took some Indian women and children prisoners, and returned, declaring the war at an end and the Indians conquered.

The general had thinned the ranks of the Maroons, but he had left them free. He carried away a few Indians, but *no negroes*; and as soon as the troops were withdrawn the unsubdued allies crept from their hiding places, rebuilt their ruined dwellings, collected their scattered families, and resumed their peaceful occupations.

In 1819 Florida was purchased of Spain and became the property of the United States. This was a sorrowful day for the Maroons, who were thus brought within the grasp of the slave power, and became more than ever the object of its hatred and persecution. The Georgians immediately set about breaking up the Maroon settlements; and to this end claimed that the Seminoles were still a part of the Creek nation, and that the Creeks, being bound by their treaty stipulations to surrender all escaped negroes, were under obligations to surrender the Maroons.

rines, and sailors who constituted the crews of those gun-boats, as compensation for their gallant services. (Page 43.)

This claim was the subject of a long and bitter controversy between the Georgians and the Creeks, which for some time threatened the peace of the country. It was finally settled by one of those compromises by which slavery has so much profited. The Indians wanted money, the Georgians wanted land, and the United States government wanted peace. So it was agreed at the Indian Spring treaty that the Indians should make over to Georgia five million acres of land, for which the government should pay two hundred thousand dollars, and that a further sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars should be set apart to pay the Georgia claimants for all the slaves that had escaped into the Creek country prior to 1802, since which time all claims had been provided for.

This adjustment seemed to be pleasing to all parties, and the Georgia Commissioners executed a written satisfaction, in which they "release, exonerate, and discharge the said Creek Nation from all and every claim and claims of whatever description, nature, or kind the same may be, which the citizens of Georgia now have or may have had prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and two against the said nation." Subsequently a commission decided that the Georgia claimants were entitled, under the treaty, to pay for ninety-two slaves which had escaped to the Creeks, and one hundred and nine thousand dollars was appropriated, and the whole matter settled.\*

This was intended to be a final settlement of the long controversy about the Maroons, and we naturally expect to see them, henceforward, live on their lands in peace. Not so, however. The annoyance of a free colony of blacks was just as great now as before, and the slaveholders were constantly pouring out complaints and denunciations to the government, and the government was making new treaties, new compromises, and new appropriations of money to pacify them.

In 1822 President Monroe called the attention of Congress to these frequent complaints, and that body raised a special committee to inquire into the facts and report some plan for obviating the difficulties. The committee consulted with a large number of prom-

\* In 1834 the claimants petitioned Congress for the remainder of this appropriation, amounting to one hundred and forty-one thousand dollars, and a bill was actually reported and passed, giving them this money as an indemnity "*for the loss of the offspring which the slaves would have borne to their masters had they remained in bondage.*" Again, thirteen years later, Mr. Giddings, then on the Indian Committee, feeling that this money justly belonged to the Creeks, for whose benefit it was appropriated, reported a bill for paying to them that sum out of the treasury, and the case was made to appear so plain that the bill was passed and the money paid.

inent persons, and, among the rest, with General Jackson, who declared that the only remedy was to remove the negroes. Mr. Penieres, a sub-agent of the Indians, said that "it was difficult to form a prudent determination with respect to the Maroon negroes who live among the Indians on the other side of the little mountain of Latchiouc. *They fear being again made slaves under the American government, and will omit nothing to increase or keep alive mistrust among the Indians, whom they in fact govern.* If it should become necessary to use force with them, it is to be feared that the Indians will take their part."

The deliberations of this committee led to a treaty directly with the Seminoles, who could now be regarded as an independent tribe since the Georgia claimants were paid, and there was no further motive for holding them under Creek jurisdiction. By this treaty the Seminoles were to be paid six thousand dollars, in cattle and hogs, to be taken under the protection of the United States, to be defended against all encroachments from white settlers, and, in return, were to be "active and vigilant in preventing the retreating to or passing through the district or country assigned them of any absconding slave or fugitive from justice."

This agreement seems to have worked better than the others, and during that and the subsequent administration (that of J. Q. Adams) the Maroons seem to have lived in comparative peace. But General Jackson succeeded to the presidency in 1829, and it had been a favorite idea with him that there could be no peace for the slaveholders till the Maroons were expelled from the country. In his reply to the questions of the committee raised under Monroe's administration, he said: "These runaway slaves *must be removed* from the Floridas, or scenes of murder and confusion will exist." He was now president, and the frequent complaints which reached him from the border determined him in favor of the entire removal of both Indians and negroes.

The Creeks had already been partly removed, and the president desired that the Seminoles should occupy a part of their territory, and be united with them, as formerly, under one government. Accordingly the treaty negotiated by Colonel Gadsden, in 1832, provided that six Seminole chiefs should repair to the Creek country west of Arkansas, accompanied by Abraham, the Maroon interpreter, for the purpose of viewing the country, and ascertaining what was the disposition of the Creeks toward the project for a reunion of the tribes; and if they were satisfied, then the stipulations of the treaty, providing for their removal, were to go into effect.

The chiefs made the proposed journey, and the agents who ac-

accompanied them obtained their approval before they returned. It was in the form of a supplemental treaty, in which they stated that they were satisfied with the country and prepared to emigrate thither; and it also set apart a certain tract of country, giving the boundaries, "*to the separate use of the Seminoles forever.*"

This supplemental treaty was subsequently repudiated by the government as without authority, and hence the country set apart by it *to their separate use* was never given them; but it was held that, inasmuch as the Indians were satisfied, they had consented to the terms of removal. The chiefs, however, understood that it was the *tribe* that was to be satisfied, and that the word *they* in the treaty did not refer to the exploring party, but to the Indians, after they had reported. These differences retarded the proposed removal, and the Florida settlers, impatient of the delay, were very bitter against both the Indians and the Maroons. They charged that the Indians did not fulfill their treaty stipulations in returning runaway negroes, and in preventing them from passing through their country, and represented to the government that so long as they remained no slaveholder could enjoy his property in peace.

The President, on receiving one of these written missives, sent it to the Secretary of War with his accustomed promptness, and indorsed on it an order "to inquire into the alleged facts, and if found to be true to direct the Seminoles to prepare to remove west and join the Creeks." Jackson was a man whose orders were apt to be promptly obeyed, and General Cass, then Secretary of War, immediately appointed General Clinch to the command of the troops with direction to prosecute the removal at once. But it was much easier to issue orders than it was to carry them into effect. The Indians had become suspicious, and the Maroons, fearful of the power of the Creeks, preferred their chances in Florida, where they knew their means of defense, to the fate which they believed awaited them in the West. Whichever way they turned they saw slavery staring them in the face, and the swamps and everglades of Florida seemed their best means of security.

In 1835 one Milton, a negro trader, went down from Columbus, Georgia, with a company of retainers fully armed, and having also chains and ropes and dogs, for the purpose of seizing some negroes on a pretended claim which the courts had declared to be fraudulent; but finding the people armed, and ready to resist their preposterous demands, they turned back without their booty. They were, however, practiced in the arts of border and slaveholding life, and so spread an alarm over the country that the Indians had armed and were preparing for war. This called out a company of troops, who



marched down on the Indian and Maroon settlements, and sending in a messenger under the protection of a white flag, he demanded why the Indians had armed. The proper explanation having been given, the officer in command stated that the inhabitants were alarmed, and that the best way to pacify them was to surrender their arms, and if they would do so he pledged himself that no one should be allowed to molest them. After a long parley they finally assented to this course, and the military force retired. The next day the trader, knowing that the Indians were now defenseless, returned with his party and seized every negro in the settlement, numbering about *forty*, and making a coffle with their chains and ropes hurried them off to Georgia, where they were sold to the planters.

A considerable number of the negroes were nominally the slaves of E-con-chattimico, an old Indian chief, and were registered as under his protection; but he afterward petitioned Congress in vain for redress, and finally went, broken in spirit, to the West, where his remaining days were spent in great poverty.\* Another chief by the name of Blunt suffered in the same way; and still another by the name of Walker only saved his Maroon dependents from a similar fate by a prompt resort to arms.

The government was then under treaty stipulations to protect these people against "*all persons whatsoever*;" but their complaints were utterly unheeded, and many of the officers seem to have connived at the outrages thus perpetrated.

Meantime the policy of removal progressed badly, and the agents began to fear that it would be a failure. The Maroons threw all the weight of their influence against it, and the Indians generally refused to come in. The reluctance of the Indians was distinctly traced to the influence of the Maroons, which still farther embittered the settlers against them. The condition of these people was indeed desperate, and Wiley Thompson, the Indian agent, stated it fairly when, in writing to the government he said, that if the Seminoles were compelled to remove west the *negroes would be enslaved by the Creeks, and if they remained in Florida they would be enslaved by the whites.*†

The Indians and their "negro allies" were, however, still unde-

\* Mr. Giddings states that in 1841, while a member of Congress, he denounced these traders as *pirates*; whereupon Hon. Mark A. Cooper, a representative from Georgia, waxed very indignant, and declared that he was well acquainted with them, that they were his neighbors, and all *honorable men*. It would be interesting to get at Mr. Cooper's exact idea of an *honorable man*.

† See Ex. Doc., 1st Sess. xxiv Congress, page 104.



cided as to their future course, when a further outrage set on fire the train which was ready for the explosion. Osceola, a young Indian brave, and a few friends visited Fort King on a trading expedition. The young brave, since become famous, had a handsome half-breed for his wife, who had accompanied him to the fort. While her husband was engaged about his purchases, some enterprising trader, seeing that she had negro blood in her veins, seized her and claimed her as his slave. Osceola, on being informed of the incident, was frantic with rage, and so violent that Thompson, the agent, ordered him to be seized and put in irons. Meantime his wife was hurried off and sold. He remained a close prisoner at the fort for six days, when, according to General Thompson, he became penitent and was released. He immediately swore vengeance against General Thompson and the whites, and soon imbued the allies with his spirit.

General Cass, the Secretary of War, learning that the Indians were committing the usual depredations preparatory to open warfare, sent them a speech, in which he urged upon them the policy of removing to the West and reuniting with the Creeks. Young Osceola, at a council called to talk over the recommendations of this speech, drew his knife and thrust it violently into the table, saying: "*This is the only treaty I will ever make with the whites.*" A grand council was held, and a decree passed, not only against consenting to a removal, but punishing with death any one who should by his conduct favor that policy. Mather, a worthy chief, who had sold his cattle to the whites and received his pay in gold, was put to death under this severe decree, and Osceola took the gold from his pocket and sowed it broadcast in the forest, declaring that it was the *price of the red man's blood*.

The whole soul of this young warrior was now bent on revenge; and for several weeks, while his partisans were maturing enterprises in other quarters, he hung around Fort King with a party of faithful followers, in the hope of surprising General Thompson.

Meantime General Clinch, conscious that the Indians were in a bitter mood, determined to strengthen his troops at Fort King by ordering on the detachment of Major Dade from Tampa Bay. The distance was one hundred and thirty miles, mostly through forests and everglades, and favorable to the designs of the Indians, who had their spies out and were apprized of the movement. His guide was Louis, a slave in one of the old Spanish families, who was employed on the recommendation of his master as *faithful, intelligent, and trustworthy*. He was, besides, a learned and accomplished gentleman, speaking the French, English, and Spanish languages

fluently, and equally familiar with the Indian tongue; but his sympathies were with his people, and he found means to communicate with them respecting the route that he should take.

Near the close of December, 1835, word came to Osceola, still watching for Thompson at Fort King, that he must join his friends at the Great Wahoo Swamp on the 27th, if he desired to participate in the attack on the detachment of Major Dade. But the young warrior was too intent on his revenge to heed the message. He continued in his lurking place on the road which led from the fort to the quarters of the sutler until the 28th, when General Thompson and Lieutenant Smith came out of the fort together for a walk, and took the road where the Indians were secreted. When they came fairly within the range of the Indian guns the sharp twang of a dozen rifles was heard at the fort, and then the Indian whoop, causing the most intense alarm. General Thompson and his companion fell pierced with many bullets, and the Indians sprang from their hiding places and took the scalps of their victims. They then hurried to the house of the sutler, where Mr. Rogers and his two clerks were at dinner. They were instantly massacred and scalped, and then the Indians, having loaded themselves with as much plunder from the store as they could carry, sped their way to the Wahoo swamp, where they still hoped to be in time for the proposed assault.

Major Dade, all unconscious of the terrible fate which awaited him, had arisen on the morning of the 28th with the expectation of reaching Fort King before nightfall, and was pressing onward, under the direction of his guide, along the edge of the swamp, when without a moment's warning a hundred rifles were suddenly discharged from behind as many trees, and more than half of the one hundred and ten persons comprising his company fell to rise no more. Among the number was the gallant commander himself, and most of his officers. The confusion that followed was that of men fully conscious of the most imminent and impending danger, but with no well-defined idea of defense against it; and before any rally could be effected a second deadly fire thinned still further the ranks of those that remained. The survivors fled in the direction of the night's encampment, and the allies pursued and finished the work of death with the tomahawk and scalping knife. Of all that gallant and hopeful company *two* only, besides Louis the treacherous guide, escaped to spread the alarm and tell the sad tale of that day of horrors.

The night was yet fresh, and the bloody work scarce completed, when Osceola and his companions, gloating over their too complete

revenge, and with the bloody scalps of their victims hanging to their belts, entered the camp and participated in the carnival which made all that night hideous with the song and the dance over the terrible retribution which had fallen on their foes. All the murders had been committed on the same day, and the intelligence sped rapidly over the country, creating a deep sensation wherever it came. But not one in ten thousand knew aught of the long catalogue of grievances which had occasioned it, or the terrible alternatives which had driven a handful of men, made desperate by cruel wrongs, to make war on a great and powerful nation.

The number of Maroons in Florida at this renewal of the war, as carefully estimated by those best informed on the subject, was about one thousand two hundred, including women and children, and excluding some two hundred slaves in the possession of the Indians. The condition of the slaves was very little different from that of the Maroons. They mostly lived in the Maroon villages, and paid a small compensation in vegetables to their nominal owners for their partial freedom. The Maroons and slaves alike intermarried with the Indians, and what affected the one was felt more or less by the other. In their military operations they were organized separately, each party having its own leaders, but always co-operating cordially with the general plan.

The war now commanded the attention of the nation. The southern states were called on for troops. General Scott, our most distinguished military leader, was ordered to the command, and the Creeks, a portion of whom were still in Georgia, were induced to enter the service; and to make that service the more effective against the Maroons, an agreement was made with them by which they were to have, besides the ordinary pay, "such *plunder* as they may take from the Seminoles." The significance of this agreement will be better understood in the sequel. It was expected to make them particularly enterprising in capturing negroes who, by the authority of the United States, thus became, not prisoners of war, but *plunder* to be appropriated or sold.

But although the resources of the nation were poured out in the greatest profusion, no sensible impression was made against the Indians and their negro allies. The reports of the officers gave information of no decisive successes, no important battles, no captures of "men at arms." In one case "several hundred *head of cattle* were obtained;" in another "horses and baggage" were taken "with twenty-five Indians and negroes, principally *women and children*;" in another one hundred and nine *women and children* of the negroes, and nine *women and children* of the Indians; in

still another the prowess of General Gaines, who had penetrated to the Wahoo Swamp, was rewarded by the narrowest possible escape from the fate of poor Dade; and President Jackson, on going out of office in 1837, left the "runaway slaves" still in Florida, and bequeathed to his successor the most unprofitable and inglorious war that had as yet tasked the energies of the nation.

But the Indians and their allies were not so much averse to emigration as they were distrustful of the government; and General Jessup, who was now in command, and at the head of eight thousand troops, used every effort to convince them that the promises of the government would be faithfully kept, and finally induced them to enter on new negotiations. The first attempts failed, for the reason that the terms did not include the Maroons; but finally, some time in March, a treaty was agreed upon, one of the articles of which reads as follows: "Major General Jessup, on behalf of the United States, agrees that the Seminoles and their allies, who come in and emigrate west, *shall be secure in their lives and property*; that their negroes, their bona fide property, shall also accompany them West, and that their cattle and ponies shall be paid for by the United States."

The peace attained after this long struggle had been negotiated by the officers of the army under a vivid sense of the great difficulty of conquering the allies, and the importance of treating them fairly and removing them as speedily as possible to their new homes. But the slaveholders along the border began immediately to set up "a howl" because the treaty contained no stipulations for the surrender of slaves; and a number of the planters, high in favor at Washington, wrote to the secretary of war on this point, and brought down on General Jessup complaints from quarters that made them particularly disagreeable. The officers found themselves between two fires. If they carried out the plan of removal peacefully they must deal fairly with the Indians and their allies; but if they thus dealt with them they must be subject to the censures of the planters, and to rebuke and perhaps disgrace from the government.

General Jessup stood out for a while, and refused to allow the slave owners to search among the Indians for runaway slaves, and on application of one of these slave catchers for leave to pass into the Indian country to hunt for his "property," Colonel Chambers wrote by authority of General Jessup as follows: "I am instructed by the commanding general to say that Colonel Dill, the person whom you report having detained at Fort Armstrong, must not be permitted to pass, but be required to return whence he came with

all convenient dispatch. . . . If persons come forward to urge their claims to negroes it will evidently prevent the negroes from coming in, and if they do not come in the commanding general is decidedly of the opinion that the Indians themselves will be greatly delayed, if not entirely prevented from compliance with the terms of capitulation."

But the storm raised about the ears of the commanding general soon induced him to retreat from this straightforward and manly position. He first yielded to the importunities of individuals who wished to search for runaway slaves under his protection; he next sought to make an arrangement by which the allies should give up the "negroes taken from citizens during the war;" and finally, on the 26th of April, he wrote to Colonel Harney that "they *must and shall* give up those taken during the war."

The result was, that the Indians and Maroons who had delivered themselves up were exposed to the searches of the slaveholders, and many of the negroes carried away into slavery instead of "being *protected in their persons*" and sent west according to the treaty. The effect General Jessup describes in a letter to J. J. Smith, a planter of Florida, who seems to have been one of those who was engaged in a "premature attempt" to obtain possession of slaves. He says: "The negroes generally have taken the alarm, and but few of them come in; and those who remain out prevent the Indians from coming in. But for the premature attempt of some citizens of Florida to obtain possession of their slaves, a majority of those taken during the war, as well as those who absconded previous to it, *would have been secured before this time.*"

Secured for what? to be sent west according to the treaty, or to be delivered up to claimants in Florida? Alas, for poor human nature! General Jessup seems to have thoroughly surrendered, and surrendered at the expense of another bloody war. He was evidently greatly exasperated, too, because he could not succeed in carrying "water on both shoulders," and in his wrath he sent an insolent message, through Colonel Harney, to Osceola, as follows: "Tell him that I intend to send out exploring parties and take all the negroes who belong to the white people, and he must not allow the Indians and Indian negroes (Maroons) to mix with them. Tell him I am sending to Cuba for bloodhounds to trail them, and I intend to *hang every one of them who does not come in.*" \*

\* To show what was the feeling in Florida in regard to the rights of these negroes, Mr. Giddings states that General Call, then governor, recommended to the secretary of war that military expeditions should be fitted out to capture the negroes, and that when taken they should be sold to pay the expenses of the

One wrong was naturally followed by another; and General Jessup, finding that the negroes who had come in and delivered themselves up for emigration were suspicious and dissatisfied, and that no others arrived, seized them by force and sent ninety of them, against whom were some sort of claims, to St. Marks to be delivered over to the slave hunters; and the rest, amounting to about the same number, to Tampa Bay, to be taken west. This conduct brought matters to a crisis, and General Jessup chronicles the result in a letter to General Gadsden on the 14th of June, as follows: "All is lost! and principally, I fear, by the influence of the negroes."

He was no doubt right. The "negroes" preferred their chances in the swamps of Florida to their chances with the Jessups, and Harneys, and Van Burens, who then wielded the power of the government, and so moved their allies to appeal once more to arms. Twenty-six vessels were then lying at Tampa Bay to carry the Indians to New Orleans on their way westward, and seven hundred had come in and were ready to depart; but the vessels left empty, and the Indians took to the woods, determined once more to defy the whole power of the government.

The war was renewed, and for four or five years more the murderous work went on. The resources of the country were poured out like water, and some \$40,000,000 were expended without, at last, fully accomplishing the objects of the planters. There was much suffering, much loss of property, and many lives sacrificed on both sides. The Indians and their allies defended their homes with wonderful heroism and tenacity, and for a long time with almost uniform success; but their numbers gradually melted away before the powerful armies which were constantly on their trails; and what with the decoy of white flags, forfeited pledges, and the sharp scent of Cuba bloodhounds, large numbers of them were at length hunted from their fastnesses, and such of the negroes as were not sent directly into slavery under the pretense of some claimant, were forwarded to Fort Gibson to occupy lands assigned them beyond Arkansas.

But their wrongs did not end even yet. The object of their removal was not to better their condition, but to break up the depot in Florida for runaway slaves. They were not regarded as having any rights, although, as a people, they had been more than a century in freedom. But although hunted down by bloodhounds, given over to the tender mercies of the slave trader, and regarded as the "plunder" of the Creeks, many of them finally found their way to war. Horrible as this now seems, it was exactly what was meant by giving to the Creeks all the "plunder" which they might capture.



Fort Gibson, and some who had been set apart to quite a different fate.

The Creeks were to have as "plunder" all the negroes that they could capture, but fortunately they had not proved to be very nimble kidnappers. The bloody work which the allies gave them was not at all encouraging to the enterprise which they had taken in hand. Some ninety negroes had been captured in one way or other by troops and Indians together, and of these General Jessup conceded thirty-five to the Creeks, which as "plunder," under his arrangement with them, they were entitled to claim as their property. But he made an arrangement with them by which government was to pay them \$8,000 in full discharge of their rights in the negroes, and thus, as he supposed, released the Maroons from their piratical grasp. Several years afterward, when a large company of the Maroons were at New Orleans on their way west, it struck some of the leading slaveholders as a mistake to send so many able-bodied laborers out of the country, and a plan was devised to arrest their farther progress. It was discovered that the Creeks had never been paid the \$8,000 awarded them by General Jessup for their "plunder," and consequently that their rights in the "plunder" still held good. On learning this fact, a slave-dealer named Watson was induced to purchase the rights of the Indians, and obtaining an order from the Indian department to have thirty-five of the negroes delivered to him, he sent his agent, Collins, to New Orleans after the property.

Fortunately, however, Lieutenant Reynolds, who had them in charge, had gone on up the river, and Collins did not overtake the party till they reached Vicksburgh. Here it was not convenient to deliver the negroes. They were men of energy, accustomed to war, and utterly refused to go with Collins; and as there was not force enough with Reynolds to compel them, Collins followed on to Fort Gibson. Here, after a long consultation, he was repulsed by the commanding general, and returned without his "plunder." Fourteen years afterward he petitioned Congress for a large sum to repay him and make good his damages, and a bill was passed for his relief.

But when the Seminoles and their Maroon allies were at last in the Indian country, they found that no "separate lands," according to the agreement, had been provided for them, and consequently they must either pass under Creek jurisdiction, according to the original design of the government, or remain without any lands whatever. In this unpleasant dilemma the Cherokees kindly invited them to occupy, temporarily, their lands, which they did; but in course of time dissatisfaction arose, and complaints went up to

Washington from all parties, and a treaty was finally effected in 1845, by which it was agreed that the Seminoles and their dependents, the Maroons, should remove to the Creek lands, and that if any differences arose they should be referred to the President for settlement.

The Creeks and Seminoles had been separated for about a century, had often been at war, were exceedingly jealous of each other, and still had unsettled disputes, so that the arrangement did not promise much for their future harmony; but to the Maroons this arrangement was still more repulsive, and they looked forward to it with the greatest apprehension. The government, however, insisted, and under the pledges made it was thought best to remove, according to the stipulations.

But hardly had the Maroons got fairly settled in their new territory when the apprehended mischiefs ensued. The Creeks looked wistfully toward them, and soon began to assert their former claims. Living in freedom in their own villages, they naturally excited discontent among the slaves held by the Creeks, and thus excited their hatred, and they greatly desired to have them in their power. The Maroons, alarmed, went in a body to Fort Gibson and claimed the protection of General Arbuckle, who was in command. He treated them kindly, and allowed them to occupy lands near the fort, and supplied their wants from the public stores till he could lay the matter before the President.

Mr. Polk, a slaveholder, was then invested with the executive authority, and he at once consulted with General Jessup as to the terms of his agreement with the negroes. The general, freed from the influence of the Florida planters, did not hesitate to declare that they were to remain in a state of freedom. He says: "The question is whether they shall be separated from the Seminoles and removed to another country, or be allowed to occupy, as they did in Florida, separate villages in the Seminole country, west of Arkansas. *The latter is what I promised them.*" In a subsequent statement made to the Secretary of War, he adds: "I, as commander of the army, and in the capacity of representative of my country, solemnly pledged the national faith that they should not be separated from the Seminoles, nor any of them sold to the white men or others, but be allowed to settle and remain, in separate villages, *under the protection of the United States.*"

But even this explicit statement of the pledges made to the Maroons did not satisfy the President, and he asked counsel of the Attorney General *ad interim*, Hon. John Y. Mason, of Virginia. Mr. Mason gave a very elaborate opinion on the subject, and came

to the conclusion that the Executive could not interfere in any manner to protect them, but must leave them to return to the towns in the Indian country, where *they had a right to remain*.

This seems to have been a crude view of the more recent doctrine of "non-intervention," and the results were quite in harmony with the workings of the same principle in Kansas. The Maroons returned to their villages, *where they had a right to remain*; but not long after a slave dealer appeared in the Creek country, and offered to pay the Creeks \$100 for every negro that they would seize and deliver to him properly secured.

This offer was too much for Creek virtue. They secretly assembled two hundred warriors, who made a descent on the Maroon settlements at a time when they suspected no danger. They were taken unawares, and before they could arm themselves seventy of their number, mostly women and children, were seized and secured. The Seminole agent interposed, and had the matter brought before the nearest court in Arkansas, a slave state, and the judge decided that the Indians had a rightful claim to the Maroons under their agreement with General Jessup, and they were thereupon released to the trader, and the whole seventy hurried off to New Orleans and sold into slavery.

It was now clear that there was no protection for the Maroons within the boundaries of the United States, so they held a council to consider what was best to be done. Some of them were connected by marriage with leading Seminole families, and felt so secure in the protection which this advantage gave them, as to feel it safe to remain; but about three hundred of them resolved to sunder their connection with their old friends, the Seminoles, and take up their line of March for Mexico. Accordingly, on the 10th of September, 1850, after the sun had sunk below the horizon, and their patrols had ascertained that no enemy was at hand, they bade farewell to their old friends and started for the Rio Grande. The Creeks were at that time in negotiation with other slave dealers, and waiting their opportunity to make more reprisals. When, therefore, they found that they had gone, they sent a war party in pursuit, which came up with them on the third day. But the Indians found them well armed and prepared for battle, and they did not venture to attack them. They continued their journey safely, crossed the Rio Grande, and settled down at Santa Rosa, where they still remain, and are said to be in circumstances of great prosperity.

## ART. III.—PARTY POLITICS.

SINCE the hour when man in Eden threw off the government of God, one of the darkest problems which he has been compelled to work at, is how he shall govern himself. That some mode of government is necessary in communities, is clear from the testimony of all human history. Whether king or president, chief or tycoon, be the head, it is conceded that every community must have an acknowledged leader, and that there must be some way provided for settling regularly the great questions which concern public welfare. There must be law more or less definite and formal, and consequently there must be framers and executors of law, clothed with powers of greater or less extent. Revelation, too, has declared government needful, saying that the powers are "ordained of God," and that he who resisteth them "resisteth the ordinance of God."

But while revelation, history, and reason agree in affirming the necessity of governments among men, no political forms are set forth in God's word as the best; and in their efforts to reason out the question, the wisest men have reached different results. History, ancient and modern, testifies that however perfect theories may be, no practical perfection has yet been attained. Under king and president, chief and tycoon, the rights of the citizen are imperfectly guarded, and the public good is only partially secured. A despotism, provided the right man is always upon the throne, is as good a political structure as any other. But those who have founded dynasties in the past were generally far from being the right men. And if one of the world's model rulers were to reign to-day, he would soon be gathered to his fathers, and the responsibility of determining his successor must rest somewhere. Shall the scepter be hereditary or elective? Shall the whole power descend from father to son? Or shall there be two lines of hereditary power, an aristocracy as well as royalty? Or shall all citizens be equal, and power in all its forms be the creation of the popular voice? The nations, by choice, accident, or the will of God, have tried these various modes of solving the great problem, and found them all practically more or less defective. Man is fallen, and to attempt political perfection is to try to "bring a clean thing out of an unclean."

In these United States we are trying the popular principle. The corner-stone of our system is that governments are instituted solely

for the benefit of the governed, and that the will of the people is the only legitimate source of power. We are trying what the rest of the world declares to be a doubtful experiment. Among our own people, there are those who feel that we are not succeeding so triumphantly as to warrant us in laying aside care and caution, or in forgetting that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." No one dreams that a change of form would be beneficial, or that an emperor or a dictator would better secure the public weal than a president. There is universal confidence in the principle upon which our system is based; and if any man should set himself up as a political reformer, and advocate a monarchy or a hereditary aristocracy, he would encounter more ridicule than either persecution or argument.

Still, no intelligent American is wholly satisfied with the political state of the country, or believes that we are working our beautiful theory as well as we might. Practically, there are defects and abuses which are annoying, and which threaten to become grievous, if they are not so already. In the general politics of the world, there is no complaint that we lack energy or courage in asserting our national rights. We feel that we are powerful. The Americans, from their intelligence, their physical strength, their activity, their quickness to see and to do, as well as their native valor, are probably the best material in the world for soldiers and sailors, and our resources for resistance to invasion are boundless. Our commercial value to the rest of the world secures for us more deference than might otherwise be paid us, and our people go abroad among the nations with heads erect, knowing that our flag is the symbol of courage and power, and that a vigorous hand will be laid upon those who disregard its claims to respect.

Nor has the American much to complain of at home in regard to his own personal rights. He enjoys the largest liberty possible in an organized community. Speech is as free as the atmosphere that bears its utterances. In religion he may be Christian, Jew, deist, or atheist, as conviction or folly prompts, and the state lays no penalty on him for the style of his own belief, nor taxes him to support any other. His share of the expense of government, levied directly or indirectly, when compared with that paid by the citizens of almost every other civilized land, is small and insignificant. The demand for mental and manual laborers is so great that men escape the despotism of capital. In mind, body, and estate, the American is the freest civilized man that treads the earth.

And yet the American complains, and has reason to complain, of the defective workings of the government which is his pride. One valid complaint which may be uttered against it is that it costs more

than it should. It is true the eighty millions annually expended by the general government appear small beside the annual expenditure of England or France. Still, we have a right to object if the citizen is taxed, directly or indirectly, two dollars when one would suffice. And who, that has caught a glimpse of the inner wheels and bands of our political machine, doubts that one dollar, honestly and judiciously managed, would do as much as two now accomplish?

Again, our high offices are not as invariably filled by our best men, as the good of the people demands. It is a hard saying, yet it is asserted, with some seeming of truth, that men of the high morals and inflexible integrity which Christianity inculcates are really unpopular as candidates, and that, in some localities, they are as carefully excluded from official station as if there was some constitutional bar to their election. The genius of our institutions demands that the best citizens be the leaders of the people, and the republican theory presumes this to be the fact. Yet the first men of the nation have more than once been set aside for men comparatively unknown. Clay, Calhoun, and Webster stand forth as a great triumvirate of genius, eloquence, and patriotism. They were the "three mighties" of their day, and yet the highest office in the gift of the people was beyond their grasp, while men of less ability as statesmen, and less known, were elevated to the presidency. There may be a reason, such as it is, for this. Men of great power, who act as leaders of parties for years, provoke personal hostility in their various intellectual encounters; they are regarded with jealousy by the little men, who can attain in their shadow only a pale and spindling growth. Or, they may be so identified with sectional strifes that their election would be humiliating to their opponents, and consequently their nomination would call forth a degree of resistance which another man, equally sound in the political faith, would not elicit. When circumstances of this nature prompt the thinkers of a party to place before the people some comparatively unknown candidate, we confess that, after the fashion of the children of this world, they are wise in their generation, and may sometimes even claim that their policy is magnanimous. But when political operators select some obscure man, who has never done anything of importance, nor even said anything of significance, because they wish to vary their representations of his principles to suit the local tastes, prejudices, and interests of different sections, the scheme is false, fraudulent, treacherous. Both the great parties have, at times, adopted the policy of nominating for high office men of a secondary degree of publicity; and as there may have been a plausible reason for adopting this plan, we will not charge it upon them



as a crime. Nor will we find fault if, now and then, a man not of the very purest morals is elected to fill some responsible place—for instance, a seat in the national or state legislature. It certainly is not practicable, and it may not be wise, to fill up the legislative ranks with men who are greatly above the moral average of the community. Civil laws must be adapted to the condition of the governed. If the law-makers are too far above the level of those for whom they act, there will be a liability to run into legislation which, in the abstract, is wise and right, yet really impracticable and useless. What kind of a legislature would the Pilgrim Fathers have made for a community of common sinners? We are not prepared, therefore, to insist upon it that all high offices must be filled with the strictest and sternest of Christian men.

In our excessive desire to be politically amiable and accommodating, we are prepared to go a step beyond this, and say that we will not complain if here and there a bad man is found in office. What if a gambler, a swindler, or a grogbruiser be found sitting among law-makers, do not gamblers, swindlers, and grogbruises dwell in this goodly land? And we ask, triumphantly, Is not ours a representative government? Let us be calm and philosophical. When we see, by the legislative reports, that there is a professor of the "manly art" in the state capitol, sent thither by the votes of the enlightened citizens of the Five Points in New York, or Bedford-street in Philadelphia, we feel that there is some plausibility in his claim to a place in Albany or Harrisburgh, inasmuch as he represents well, luminously, beautifully, the chivalry of his locality. And so we reason when another makes his appearance in our halls of national legislation with a revolver or two in his pocket, and a bowie-knife tucked daintily inside his vest. There is a class of which each is the exponent, and the fitting representative. And since these classes really exist, why should not good citizens be reminded of the fact, especially while they are engaged in framing criminal law? These "Honorable" will of course resist the passage of any statute that threatens to interfere with their peculiar "rights," or in any way cramp their genius; and perhaps, owing to the animated style of their elocution, they will brandish fists or bowie-knives in debate, or possibly enliven the dull monotony of routine deliberation by a rough-and-tumble fight on the floor; but, in all this, they merely represent their faction. Good and right law will encounter opposition; and since it must come, is it not well to be warned of it beforehand, to know what passions it will rouse, what sophistries it will bring to the surface, what resistance it must overcome?

But then comes the question, whether our public offices are filled by men of average virtue and integrity. We are not at all disposed to make sweeping accusations against the morals of those in authority. No one will deny that men of the purest integrity, men of the highest Christian character, may be found in public places. But where is the average? How do our public men compare in morals with our citizens in general? To take what we hear and know of their conduct at the various seats of government may be fallacious, since many a tolerably good citizen at home conducts himself rather indifferently away from home. But if this is a fair criterion, we are inclined to draw the conclusion that our public men are not, in the mass, of average virtue, are not up to the general moral level of the nation.

Unless the city of Washington is grievously slandered, gambling dens are not unknown there, nor are members of Congress exempt from the charge of visiting them. Dram shops of various grades are common there; and the basement of the Capitol itself has not always been innocent of participation in the murderous traffic, and in the deeds which it is its province to produce. Furious language in debate, fierce altercations on the floor of Congress, and even gross outrage committed within those sacred walls, exemplify the violence and brutality of which bad men may be guilty when under the double intoxication of alcohol and passion. It is scarcely worth while now to allude to the bloody violence inflicted upon a senator, some four years ago, by a member of the House of Representatives, while a twin assassin stood by, holding a pistol to prevent interference, and a prominent candidate for the presidency coolly witnessed the revolting scene, declining to interpose with hand or voice "lest he should be misunderstood." It is said, on what authority we know not, but are ready to believe it without inquiry, that the author of this evil deed afterward regretted it as the great error of his life, an error into which he would never have fallen but for brandy and bad counselors. This, indeed, is a poor apology for an act which has shocked the moral sense of the nation, and rung throughout the civilized world to the dishonor of the American name; but it was the only reparation which the offender, however penitent, could offer. We need not review the catalogue of similar occurrences, more or less remote, the menaces, the challenges, the duels, the outrages of greater or less enormity which stain our national name, and fill every patriot heart with shame and indignation. If the doers of these things fancy that by a few hypocritical words of regret, or a little newspaper notice to the effect that "all personal difficulties have been

honorably adjusted," they satisfy the reason and the conscience of an insulted community, either they or we mistake the temper, and miscalculate the intelligence of the American people.

It is true, when politics assume a sectional aspect, and men's passions are roused, it is quite natural that things should be said and done which all parties unite in condemning when the excitement begins to subside. Moreover, we must not forget that in our national legislature there is a little faction of agitators, who aim at the dismemberment of the Union. They are not numerous, nor influential, nor do they represent any important division of the nation, yet they are men of good lungs and vast assurance. The sundering of the states, they fancy, would bring them personal gain. The division of one county, or township, into two others, is always popular with the small political mousers of the locality, because it will double the number of officers to be elected, and consequently multiply by two each man's chances. There are ambitious men, aspirants after national honors, who fancy that their chances of rising would be increased if there were both a Northern and a Southern confederacy. These disunionists employ fierce language and insulting manners, not exactly because they mean it, but from set purpose and deliberate design. Their object is to set the different parts of the nation at variance, and to force on a deep, bitter, implacable, sectional strife, which must of necessity end in disunion.

When these men, therefore, use all the arts of annoyance and provocation, they must not be understood as expressing their own genuine feelings, much less those of their constituents, but rather as employing what seems to them the surest means of producing a desired result. Besides this, as the tadpole has but one fin, some men have but one way to try to influence those around them. One will argue, another coax, a third bully. Cut off this one fin and they lie helpless in the dirty pool in which they now swim so triumphantly their six-inch voyages.

Still, after allowing what we reasonably may for excitement, intoxication, hypocrisy, and folly, there yet remains a mass of evil words and deeds, which can only be accounted for on the ground that many radically bad men occupy public places, men who are not only morally weak, but capable of deliberate and strenuous wickedness. At Washington, and at least some of the state capitals, men of a low moral grade are numerous, and legislative action is often imperfect or vicious because they are numerous. The proceedings of Congress, and of the state legislatures, are sometimes careless, sometimes weak, sometimes wicked, because careless, weak,

and wicked men have so large a hand in them. Because of this, the whole machinery of government is practically defective, costing more and accomplishing less than it should. The laws of the land are not as accurately just and right, and are not executed as promptly and rigidly as the public good requires. Good laws fail to be passed, or fail in the execution, because there is a positive lack of virtue among those who should enact them or faithfully apply them. We know of no other nation whose system of law and administration we would prefer, as a whole, to our own. Nevertheless, with all our progress, real and imaginary, we have not yet attained political perfection; and there is no reason why we, as American citizens, may not complain of existing evils, and demand a remedy wherever a remedy is possible.

But before we inquire after the remedy, it will be well to glance at the sources of the evil.

First of all, government, even in its best forms, is not perfect in its workings, because man himself is essentially imperfect. If the infinite wisdom of God should devise for us a system of government, and a full and minute code of civil and criminal law, human hands would not be able to apply the divine statutes, and work the divine system in a perfect manner. If all men were truly Christian, scanty knowledge and a fallible judgment would render error possible. But "all men have not faith." The nation is composed of men of all grades of intellect, from the loftiest wisdom down to idiocy; and of all grades of virtue, from the most devoted piety down to the most daring wickedness and the meanest villainy. And every man, whether good or evil, whether Solomon or sot, whether he possesses a vote or not, must be taken into the political calculation and recognized as one of the dwellers in the land, for whom it is necessary to legislate, and with whom it may be needful for the law to deal. Here, as in every civilized community, there are two classes arrayed against each other in eternal antagonism. They are the advocates and the opponents of right law. The convictions of the one class are on the side of justice, humanity, and virtue, and against violence, oppression, and wrong. They wish the law of the land to be a clear exponent of these principles, and a strong auxiliary in the moral contest. They desire to see wrong in all its phases, and fraud in all its forms, laid hold of with a strong hand, and repressed promptly and effectually, that our persons and our good names, our homes, our merchandise, our crops growing in the field or stored in the granary, may be safe. They wish for universal education, and quiet Sabbaths, and streets free from midnight riot. In their theory the magistrate is "not to bear the sword in vain," but to be a "terror to evil doers."

They labor to banish from the land all that despoils men of their manhood, or mars the purity of home, or spreads dangers in the path of youth.

And there is another class who advocate "liberal" ideas on all moral questions; who desire to have as little law as possible, and no stringent statutes rigidly enforced. To a corrupt heart, surrendered to the sway of the devil, resistance to all right law, human or divine, is instinctive. The wicked may be ready to appeal to the public authority, when it suits their purposes so to do; but a bad man can have no cordial respect for the law, and is ever ready to trample upon it when it stands in the way of his sins. From the peculiar nature of our institutions, these two classes are brought into perpetual collision. They take opposite sides in public discussions; they meet face to face at the polls; and yet their strife is scarce ever open and avowed. The good and the evil uplift no appropriate banners, nor adopt party names significant of the real contest between them, nor embody in "platforms" precisely what they think and what they want. To borrow an old expression in regard to the real Church, we may designate these classes as "invisible parties." They are drawn toward the regular organizations, or repelled from them, according to the character of the men and measures advocated by those organizations. When a question which connects with morals and religion is agitated, and the people are called upon to decide, the good and the evil tend to go to the one side or the other by affinity, as the different elements of a chemical solution leave each other, and gather to the opposite poles of a galvanic battery. A question, for example, in regard to restricting the common sale of intoxicating drinks, or closing places of public amusement on the Sabbath, will stir the elements of a city as deeply as the slavery issue stirs the nation; and parties earnest, active, and resolute, will find their leaders, their newspaper organs, and their candidates.

There is, then, in every community an undefined party, opposed to salutary legislation, and an obstacle in the way of those who would maintain public order. We would not style this a "dangerous class" in the European sense of the phrase. To become fiercely antagonistic, classes must be separated by visible and permanent lines of distinction, like the castes of India, or the nobles and the peasantry of France before the Revolution. The parties of which we speak are not thus bounded and distinguished. The thoughtful statesman and the pious pauper may be alike interested on the one side, while the "rough" keeper of a low dram shop, and the pompous millionaire of whom he rents his premises,

may be equally fervent in the advocacy of their peculiar "rights."

Nor can we say that either nativity or creeds, as publicly proclaimed and recognized, designate these parties. Some will have it that the foreign born element of our population is the chief obstacle in the way of law and order, while the native element is wholly conservative; but such classifications are too sweeping. The Catholic portion of our nation has been charged with having aims which are at variance with our liberties; but we object to these indiscriminate accusations. There are certain personages who would rejoice to have these and similar charges made, and urged, and repeated pertinaciously and fiercely. These are the Romish priests themselves, who wish to keep their people isolated from the Protestants, that they may the more securely hold them in spiritual bondage. They dread the effects of free speech and a free press. They dread the influence of American modes of thought and American freedom of expression. They fear the influence of Americans upon those in their employ. Against these dangers their weapons of defense are fear, distrust, bigotry, hatred. They labor to keep alive in their people the old enmity which too many of them have unfortunately imported from their native lands. Thus they seek to keep their flocks together, by assuring them that outside of the narrow circle over which the priestly crook casts its shadow every living thing is a wolf. The "Know Nothing" and "American" movements were, in their day, a great help to the priests in counteracting the effects which were produced in the Catholic mind by our free institutions, and the Christian example of Protestants. We do not desire to help the priests by any careless expression which might be construed into dislike of Catholics or of foreigners, and ostentatiously quoted from the Review as the opinion of the entire Church. Nor will we cite their opposition to the use of God's word in the common school as a proof, or an illustration, of the existence of a class opposed to right law. We suspect that there is a little priestly play-acting in this matter, and that the real object of their dread is the familiar, daily commingling of their children with those of Protestants. They fear the effect of childish intimacy and converse, in wearing away the dislike and dread which they are so careful to cultivate, and upon which, in their estimation, so much depends. It is safe to hazard the conjecture, that if the Bible were removed from the schools, they would allow their children to attend only in those localities where the numerical strength and the preponderating social influence among the children are in their favor.

We say, therefore, that we do not deem it either fair or wise to



stigmatize the Catholics as the dangerous element. All who hate the Ten Commandments and the human laws which are based upon them; all who dislike pure morals, truth, temperance, industry, honesty; all who desire to live by the labor of others, and to make merchandize of their weakness, their folly, or their wickedness; all who favor a licentious press and riotous Sabbaths, belong to the lawless portion of the people, whether they are of foreign birth or native, whether Catholic or Protestant, Infidel or Jew; and if there be a class dangerous to our institutions these are they. Whether dangerous or not, they are certainly an expensive class. For their sole accommodation prisons are erected, and criminal courts and officers ordained, and mainly for them the almshouse opens its doors.

This class of citizens exert an important influence in political affairs. They have votes as well as others, and when a candidate of their own sort is set up, a fellow feeling prompts them to support him irrespective of party lines. It is a harder matter than it would otherwise be, to fill any office with a good man, because bad men of all parties prefer to see those elected who will not be dangerous to them. Free and easy citizens do not admire stern disciplinarians.

"No thief e'er felt the halter draw  
With good opinion of the law."

And if thieves have the privilege of aiding in the selection of the man who is to manage the rope, they will be careful to vote for the candidate who, in their estimation, will be least likely to slip the fatal noose over their heads. The proprietors of grog shops, dance houses, and Sunday theaters, as well as the patrons of dog fights, rat matches, "the ring," and other elegant amusements to which gentlemen of a certain sort addict themselves, have votes, and in cases of doubt stand long with the ballots in their dirty fingers, meditating on the transitory nature of sublunary things, and considering which of the aspirants for municipal honors will be least likely to raise a legal dust about their places of resort. Certainly this is natural, and in its way rational. If the mice in a granary were to be called together to nominate a cat to preside over the premises, they would be unanimously in favor of the tabby with the dullest eye and the bluntest claws. The five of points and the fifth of avenues will come to the polls as Noah's antediluvian collection of animals came up into the ark, each "after its kind." When the thorn produces grapes, and the thistle figs, we may expect bad men to favor the election of good officers, and grow enthusiastic for right law and a stringent executive.

The character of the men who are generally most ambitious for office is another obstacle in the way of a rigidly honest and just

administration of public affairs. After having rebuked sweeping accusations elsewhere, it would not be seemly for us to fall into them ourselves; still, we must be permitted to say that office-seekers, as a class, are not in very high repute, and that, as a general thing, the men who are mentally and morally best qualified to manage public affairs have little desire for office. Few are willing to engage in the strife of an ordinary political contest. It seems to them very much like scrambling in the gutter for pennies with a company of chimney-sweeps in their working clothes. There are few offices which an able, prosperous business man can accept without pecuniary loss. There are many offices which a man of cultivation cannot fill without repugnance. A good man can scarce occupy public office without becoming of necessity the daily associate of men whom, because of their character, he does not care to know, and without being compelled either to make for himself bitter enemies, or wink at things which his conscience cannot approve. We hazard nothing in saying that, as a class, the *office seekers* (mind, we do not say *office holders*) are rather an indifferently good kind of men, or, in phrase commercial, only of "middling" quality.

The character of the men who gather about office seekers, and make politics their trade, increases the evil. There are those who "by this craft have their wealth." They work for the success of their patrons. They are the political jackals who assist the lion in the chase, and, when the game is secured, have each a bone to gnaw as their reward. The theory of ideal republicans is that the free and intelligent people assemble at the polls, and elect the man best prepared to do the country honor, the candidates meanwhile modestly and meekly remaining at home, awaiting the popular decision. And what is seen by the half-opened eye favors this view. Still the initiated understand the matter somewhat differently. They know that somebody works, and expects to be paid for the work. When the national heart feels the presence of great questions, we admit that men are ready to labor, even with the certainty of pecuniary loss, for the success of the principles or the men that they espouse. Still, it is not to be disguised that the men who, in an ordinary election, are most noisy and active, are, with few exceptions, those who expect to gain by the success of the party which they advocate. In the country village the party editor is subsidized with a new suit of type to begin with, perhaps, and is promised the public printing of the locality to quicken his zeal. Those who are employed to canvass the precinct, and look after the lukewarm and the doubtful, are sometimes paid in cash for their services, sometimes are rewarded with petty office, sometimes are kept to the work by indefinite prom-

ises. In the city the spoils are larger. Lucrative situations, fat contracts, the erection of a public building, the grading of an avenue, the adornment of a park, or even the sweeping of the streets, set in motion those who have no thought of anything beyond these rewards. They receive these contracts, sometimes, on terms known to be unfair and dishonest, and the recipient perhaps at once sells out the job, or contracts with new parties to do the work for one half or two thirds the amount paid him, and gives himself no further trouble with it. In national politics, the spoils are places in the custom-house, or in the government offices at Washington, the public printing, army and navy contracts, foreign missions and consulships, some with liberal outfit and salary, others to powers and places of no importance, and involving nothing beyond a little foreign travel at the public expense. And cases are not wholly unknown where a sinecure office has been devised with the understanding that the holder thereof shall earn his salary after a fashion, by electioneering labors and general management in behalf of those who bestow the favor. Thus each political faction is surrounded by a guard of janizaries, a body of mercenaries, who operate for their employers, and expect their pay—men who, as one has well expressed it, are bound to their party by the principle that “the ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master’s crib.” These party workers vary in the fields of labor assigned them, from the platform of a “mass meeting,” down to the earthen floor of an underground grog-shop. The existence of such men makes it more difficult for their own party to nominate and elect a rigidly honest man to office, because they know that when an honest man, even of their own party, is elected, they will not be allowed to plunder the public treasury. When a candidate really fit for a high place is nominated, the party Swiss take it as a personal affront and injury. They feel very much as the rats do when they peer cautiously out of their hiding-places and see the farmer preparing to nail a piece of tin over the only hole that leads into the bin of grain. On the other hand, the men whom the new officer would be likely to select to aid him in the performance of his public duties are busy with their own affairs, and are not anxious for patronage. Thus a good nominee often fails because the regular party workers will do little or nothing to bring out the party strength; and a bad one often succeeds because there are so many who in secret hope for dishonest gain from his election. The whole machinery of party is liable to work feebly when a man of unbending integrity is the nominee, because the ardor and enthusiasm of the party mercenaries depend upon their hope of plunder.

Party spirit is sometimes found in the way of a wise termination of our political contests.

There is no valid objection to the institution of parties for the fair and honest defense of great principles. When rival systems of political action and economy come in collision, the adherents of each will naturally be drawn together, and seek so to arrange their action that their principle may be represented aright at the polls. Nor do we complain that men are attached to their party, and that the party name, when it is the symbol of great truths, or supposed truths, should be a word of power. But when designing men seize hold upon the party organization, and turn it into a mere lever for their own elevation, or an instrument of personal profit, and the party name is only a charm to conjure with, and lead men into doubtful ways, when principles are either lost sight of altogether, or else made the stalking horse, by which the game is secured; when "platforms" become grandiloquent commonplaces, which nobody denies, while the real plans and aims upon which the whole party strength is to be brought to bear are plotted in secret, and whispered over in secret among a select few of the party engineers, then parties are no longer good, but an evil and a public curse, more dangerous to the community than any organized gang of counterfeiters, or any band of common robbers.

Yet this is precisely the abuse to which parties are liable. Corrupt men gain control of the party to which they belong, and turn the whole tide of influence possessed by it upon the wheel which grinds their own personal grist. It is a matter of rejoicing that in these latter days party ties are not as strong, nor are political contests in general as fierce as they were thirty or forty years ago, and men are less led by names. The rise of new parties, and the occurrence of schisms and disintegration in the old ones, have also aided in setting men free from party slavery, and making them independent in the bestowment of their votes. Still party names have power, and the old watchwords have a charming sound in many ears. And the tendency of partisanship is to blind the eyes of the citizen to the evil existing in his own faction, and the good that may exist outside of it. Political plotters carefully foster it. They pursue precisely the course which the Romish priest adopts in the management of his flock. They cultivate a blind admiration of their own men and ostensible measures, and an equally blind fear and distrust of the opposition. The object of each party is to destroy public confidence in the others. Of course all imaginable pleas are employed for this purpose—acute and plausible ones when such are needed, and monstrous and absurdly false ones where such

will better answer the purpose. "Platforms" are contrived in language susceptible of various interpretations, to suit the varying views and interests of the people; and in many cases none but the most sagacious can tell what is the real aim of the party leaders.

The press is the principal weapon employed in this warfare. The press is free, and ought to be free. Every man is at liberty to advocate any theory he chooses in philosophy, religion, or politics. The most obscure citizen may discuss public measures and public men, approving and condemning what or whom he will. And what he may do orally in private, he may also do publicly and through the press. That which, under a despotism, is whispered in the ear, may here be proclaimed upon the housetops. This is one of the elements of genuine liberty. Yet this freedom of speech and of the press is practically of little value to many who make it their boast. When a king establishes a censorship of the press, suppressing information which the people ought to have, and making it say only what he wishes to have said and believed, we declare it tyranny of so malignant a type as to warrant the stern remedy of revolution. But many a man who scorns submission to a tyrant without, has a tyrant within. What matters it that the press is free, if the mind is in the bondage of insane prejudice? If blind attachment to party has given the mind so fatal a wrench that it can see, and understand, and believe only what comes to it through a certain channel, does it not voluntarily put on the shackles of servitude, and plunge into a dungeon of its own building? To be unable to look with open, candid eye upon anything which lacks the impress of the party signet, is one of the worst of stamp acts. The partisan press has succeeded in nothing else so well as in the creation of mutual distrust and disbelief. Who has faith in the papers of the other party?

We have no disposition to advocate universal credence, though that were a safer rule to follow than to reserve all faith for one side and all disbelief for the other. Every editor of a political paper should be heard with the caution needful when a witness, interested in the result of the suit, is upon the stand. The very existence of some papers depends upon collections made in their behalf among office-holders and office-seekers. Others are kept alive by public printing. The organ of a party is rewarded with patronage of various descriptions. It is to the editor a serious matter to quarrel with the party leaders, and a party defeat is a loss of personal dollars and cents. An editor that has stamina enough to go against party when party goes against right, will not be a favorite with the leaders whose projects he insists on testing in his private crucible;

nor will he be likely to secure a very large share of the spoils. The vast majority of political papers are wholly one-sided, and no man can make the statements of any one of them the basis of opinion and action, save at the risk, if not the certainty, of being altogether deluded and misled. The vast majority of party journals absolutely betray their readers. Party editors refuse to publish what they know to be true, whenever the effect of publication will be unfavorable to their side. Many will go further, and deny the truth. Many will quote, if they do not coin, what they know to be false, if it promises to help "the party." Men otherwise respectable and truthful will do this. By some unaccountable hallucination they seem to think that with the types and "for the cause" they may say what they would scorn to say, and do what they would scorn to do in private life for themselves.

Partisan papers not only deal largely in general falsehood, but remorselessly assail private character. Unless a man is too strong to be safely attacked, long and faithful public service, the most generous public spirit, and the purest private morals will not save him from villainous abuse when he becomes a candidate for office. Some of the readers of the Review will remember the malignant accusations made against the public acts and the private morals of Andrew Jackson when he was a candidate for the presidency, and how the charges of murder and assassination were enforced by pictures of coffins on the cover of the electioneering pamphlets with which the land was flooded. They will also recollect that when the hero was actually in his grave, all parties united to honor his patriotism, and to place him in the list of great Americans. The history of his political rival is in substance the same. Accused of almost every crime forbidden in the decalogue, branded as a gambler and a political trickster without honor or principle, ready to sell his country for gold while he was a nominee for the presidency, he was no sooner gone from earth than his old opponents became almost fulsome in their eulogies. General Cass, in the senate chamber, chastening his language, as he said, to "the severity of truth," declared that he believed that Henry Clay "was as pure a patriot as ever participated in the councils of a nation, anxious for the public good, and seeking to promote it during all the vicissitudes of a long and eventful life." And the very party organs that had heaped up detraction without limit, were loud in their praises of the deceased orator and statesman. We are aware that the men of real power, the great leaders of all parties, generally leave this base work of political slander for others to perform. Still the work is done, to the shame and the disgrace of the nation, and the injury of private character and the public good.



However enormous and absurd the falsehoods uttered, they are uttered with the hope that somebody will believe them, and they are believed. The intelligent may read with discriminating eyes, detecting, through all the fog thrown around the subject, the good and the evil in public men and public measures; and many become puzzled and confounded, not knowing what to believe or whom to trust. But many receive with immeasurable faith all that comes from their own side, and reject, without inquiry, all that comes from the other. The lagging reparation that never comes till the death of the slandered man has rendered further lying politically useless, is merely a confession of the former crime, and has no value. It is a poor consolation to a true patriot and statesman to know that the curs which now snap their rabid teeth at his heels will slaver his tombstone with their false tongues, and howl their simulated woe over his grave.

The apathy of the better classes of citizens is another prominent cause of the foulness of the political pool. It may be to the credit of our government that men have so little fear of oppressive legislation that they become careless of exercising the elective franchise. Still this carelessness is not a good thing, especially when those most prone to neglect their duty are the very men whose influence is needed on the side of law and order. This neglect is an error, and almost, if not quite, a sin. There sits by our side, as we ponder these things, one of the purest of patriots and of men, a native citizen of these United States, who has been for sixty years a legal voter, and yet during that long period has never voted once. There may not be another case like this in the land; but all who know the facts are aware that many good citizens are lacking in the sense of obligation in regard to their duty as citizens. The national statistics show that when the most momentous questions are to be decided, and the popular excitement is greatest, hundreds of thousands entitled to vote do not present themselves at the polls. We count this an evil of colossal magnitude. Our people are not all friends of law, nor lovers of order. Some honor, others decry and hate. Some uphold right law, others would dethrone it and trample it under their feet. It is a dangerous thing for good citizens to be negligent. Our experiment of free government is not such a triumphant success as warrants the conclusion that good men are no longer needed at the ballot-box. Nor are we impressed with the idea that all will go right if piety goes into the closet to pray, leaving the ballot-box to "the world, the flesh, and the devil." We need works as well as faith. Religion must vote as well as pray.

Those who are guilty of this neglect apologize for it on certain

grounds, which are insufficient for their purpose. They say that the whole thing is not in the best odor among respectable people; that the polls are located generally at some place where good men do not care to be seen, and that brutal men hang about in crowds to swear, and push, and poison the air with alcoholic breath. Brutal men will swear harder, and drink more, if this will give them the entire control of the land. The falsehood and chicanery of the men who work the party wires produce deep disgust, but what then? If good men, for that reason, give up their rights as citizens, and leave the corrupt and the self-seeking to govern the country, it will be only the result for which these very men are laboring. To inquire and investigate, carefully, resolutely, and fearlessly, to act independently, to make these little sacrifices of ease and mental quiet, and encounter, one or two days in the year, that which reputable men would gladly avoid forever, is the price which intelligent patriotism must pay for liberty.

Thus we have attempted to point out some of the practical defects of our political life as they seem to an outside observer. We have also tried to search out the origin of these defects. In regard to the remedy, a sentence or two must suffice. The evil has a double source, ignorance and wickedness; and we have no faith in any remedy except one that aims to lessen ignorance and wickedness. When there is more intelligence among the people, and the fear and the love of God have greater power over the popular mind, the evil will begin to decrease. We need more spelling-books and more Bibles, more school-houses and more churches, more truth and more love of the truth. The wrong will be rebuked, and the right will be vindicated, just in proportion as the popular heart beats with a wise love of the right and an intelligent hatred of the wrong. The word of God, read, understood, believed, alone furnishes a firm foundation for free institutions. None else will stand when the winds blow and the waves beat.

We subjoin, as an appropriate conclusion, the most excellent passage in the Pastoral Address of the late General Conference, referring to this subject:

"6. The political influence of the Church cannot be profitably exerted by the Church as a body, but only by individuals as citizens. But in using their rights and influence as citizens, we have occasion to admonish all to let their *manner* of using be marked with moderation, preserving constantly the dignity and sobriety of the Christian; and let your influence as individual Christians be exerted with wisdom; and we cannot refrain from saying that one of the wisest ways of exerting your influence is, to attend the pri-

mary political meetings, and give your voice for good and true citizens to hold the places of public interest and trust. We add, that as the pastors of the Churches are "separated unto the Gospel of God," as says St. Paul, while they ought to exercise their individual rights as citizens in voting, it is not meet or profitable to the pastor, or the Church in which he serves, to stand forth in a political canvass, so as to make the impression that he has given himself unduly to worldly affairs, and to this extent failed to devote himself to the holy ministry unto which God has separated and consecrated him."

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#### ART. IV.—EARLY METHODISM IN THE BOUNDS OF THE OLD GENESEE CONFERENCE.

*Early Methodism within the Bounds of the Old Genesee Conference, from 1788 to 1828; or, the First Forty Years of Wesleyan Evangelism in Northern Pennsylvania, Central and Western New York, and Canada. Containing Sketches of interesting Localities, exciting Scenes, and prominent Actors. By GEORGE PECK, D. D. 12mo., pp. 512. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.*

THE history of Methodism the world over is most extraordinary. It abounds in incident unequalled in the annals of any other period or portion of the Christian Church. It is, indeed, a history of marvels almost from beginning to end. The youngest of all the evangelical Churches, the Wesleyan body, is now much the largest. Though less than a century old in America, and not much more than a fourth older in Europe, it numbers its millions of adherents. Wherever the Protestant religion has found lodgment, or has been able to command patronage, there Methodism is now exerting its saving agency. It is felt indeed to be a power in the earth.

Its greatest triumphs have, however, been achieved in the New World. The state of society here has been found, from the very beginning, to be well suited to the aggressive character of Wesleyanism. The popular mind has been taken by it on the very wing. Where all has been excitement and activity, expansion and enterprise, the masses have been compelled to pause and listen. The voice of one crying in the wilderness has been heard, and the wanderer called back to his father's house.

Nor is there any other portion of the American continent from which more striking examples of the truth of what has been said can be selected, than that covered by the history named at the head of this article. "Old Genesee" may well challenge a com-

parison, so far as the success of Methodism is concerned, with any other portion of the nation—one might almost say, any other portion of the globe. The moral and relative changes affected by it can hardly be appreciated by the present generation. Fifty years since, in all these regions, Methodism was deemed either contemptible, or utterly beneath contempt. Wherever its heralds went, they were sure to be regarded and treated, with here and there an honorable exception, as the filth and offscouring of all things. They were saluted with gibes, and groans, and derisive songs, and in some instances with foul-mouthed blasphemies, nay, with even personal violence.

But how great is the change! Those whose memories enable them to compare that time with the present can hardly imagine themselves in the same world. Contempt has given place to respect, prejudice to candor, neglect to deeply interested attention. So complete has been the revolution, that a Methodist preacher of respectable talents and attainments, would now find a cordial welcome and a comfortable support in almost any neighborhood within the geographical area comprehended by the history before us. The actual increase in the number of ministerial laborers is wonderful. Some idea may be formed of the rapid extension of the work, when it is stated that what Dr. Peck denominates "The Old Genesee Conference" comprehended the whole of the two Canadas, and the territory now included in the Black River, the Oneida, the Wyoming, the East Genesee, and the Genesee Conferences, together with considerable fractions of the present Erie, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York Conferences. Where less than fifty ministers were employed half a century since, there are now from nine hundred to one thousand: and yet the actual demand is far from being supplied. Nor is this increase in the number of laborers wholly attributable, by any means, to the increase of population, great as this unquestionably is; but quite as much, perhaps even more, to the change in public sentiment touching Methodism and its authorized teachers. The latter are no longer regarded as a set of ignorant and fanatical propagandists, but as men capable of instructing and blessing the public. They have been found not only honest and pious, but competent and eminently effective. And considering what, as instruments in the hands of God, they have actually accomplished for this part of the country, it would be strange indeed, if candid and discriminating men did not award to them a high character both for talent and moral goodness.

Nor is the salutary influence they have exerted to be seen in the moral history of the country merely: they have contributed

essentially to its *general* elevation. Its material wealth should be largely credited to them. No community, at least in our country, has ever been prosperous, even in temporal things, where the religion of the cross has not been a pervading and controlling element. Habits of vice are always expensive. Sin is not only a reproach to any people, but is ever a clog upon their prosperity. In all its relations and bearings moral evil has uniformly been found, in its final summing up, to be an unprofitable concern. On the contrary, godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come. The man who forms his character upon the model of a pure and elevated religion is necessarily industrious, temperate, frugal, economical, and hence must be more or less prosperous. And what is true of individuals is equally true of communities. Facts abundantly demonstrate it. One of the most palpable results of Wesleyan Methodism has ever been the material thrift of those who have been subdued by it to the obedience of the faith. Just as soon as they have found pardon and salvation, everything in relation to their fortune has taken an upward direction. This was particularly observed in the days of the Wesleys, and has been equally apparent in our own country and times. Nor need we suppose any preternatural interpositions of Providence to account for the fact. The philosophy of it lies upon the very surface. The essential elements and graces of the Christian religion, as has already been shown, tend directly to the specified result. That portion of country included in "Old Genesee" furnishes a triumphant demonstration. Methodism has carried a simple Gospel to its every neighborhood, has permeated the masses with its blessed spirit, and has thus counteracted the groveling and dissipating tendencies of vice.

Mark the result. The wilderness and solitary place are made glad, and the desert rejoices and blossoms as the rose. A more prosperous population can scarcely be found on the face of the globe. Agriculture, commerce, and the arts are beautifying and enriching the land, and consequently every material interest of the community is in the ascendant. Doubtless this picture has its shades, but is, on the whole, by no means overdrawn. Central and Western New York may be viewed as the garden of the continent, while Northern Pennsylvania and the Canadas furnish the proof of what can be accomplished by pious and intelligent industry. Very possibly what is here said of Old Genesee would be equally true if said of other portions of our common country which have been brought under the same general influences, but a more ample survey would hardly fall within the legitimate range of the present article.

Nor should we lose sight of the mental elevation consequent upon the spread of Methodism through this portion of country. The Gospel itself acts directly upon the intellect. When God would save a man, he always begins by pouring light into his mind. He shows him what he is. The mind thus illuminated at once takes an upward direction. What surprising developments of intellectual character not unfrequently follow the triumphs of the cross. A sparkling genius has started up where we had looked for nothing but downright stupidity. Many a man is now exerting a wide and salutary influence upon the world of mind around him, who, but for his religion, would never have reached a state of mental mediocrity. Illustrative facts might be multiplied to almost any extent. Such facts, indeed, always teem in the wake of successful Methodism. Stimulated and elevated in its aims, the mind at once demands educational facilities. Schools of course become a public necessity, and multiply with the increasing demand. This is not presumption; it is the dictate of experience. In all this region we see it exemplified. Wherever the itinerant has gone, and societies have been formed, food has, immediately thereafter, been demanded for the mind; not only for the minds of those who have become subjects of converting grace, but of others. The whole community has felt the impulse. Hence, not only common schools have been called for, but higher institutions—academies, seminaries, colleges, universities. And being demanded, they have been supplied. How strange that those very men who were supposed to be not only unlearned themselves, but the real patrons of ignorance, should have been, as they really have, the pioneers of education in all this region. Their descendants are now the educators of the land?

To aver that all the moral teaching and moral influence which may be regarded as the basis of this extraordinary prosperity, as well material as intellectual, should be credited to Methodist agencies, would be the sheerest bigotry. Others have toiled nobly, and are entitled to a large share of honor. But that the itinerancy of the Methodist Episcopal Church has opened the way, and laid the foundation for those other workmen, will probably be questioned by few who know anything about the facts in the case. Settled pastors could do nothing till the country was somewhat opened and populated, and the means of supporting them had been accumulated. Methodism was under no necessity of waiting for either. Her economy enabled her to occupy the very outposts. Ere the cabin was completed, or the first acre inclosed, the itinerant was on hand. He could lodge in the loft, and subsist upon the cheapest fare. In quest of souls, he thought little of anything else. No



matter what were his privations or sufferings so long as his chief objects were being accomplished. Living among the people, a very small salary would suffice for him. A single man thought himself amply supported if he obtained his disciplinary allowance—from eighty to a hundred dollars per annum—a thing that rarely occurred. More frequently he had to live on a moiety of that sum. Nor did the man of family get much more. The people gave what they *could*, and upon that the preacher had to subsist, whether married or otherwise. But they were glorious men, and their memorial shall not perish. Indeed, the time will probably come when the historian will award to them a higher niche in the temple of fame than that assigned to the heroes of the American Revolution.

Some of the men of that day did, however, faint and quit the field. Reduced to absolute poverty, with families calling for their protection and care, they thought themselves justified in leaving the itineracy—perhaps, indeed, in a sense, *compelled* to do so. Some such, after recruiting themselves, and making more ample provisions for those dependent upon them, returned to their work again, while others never did. The history of the Church shows that the number of those who, under the operation of these or similar causes, have left our Conferences is truly appalling. There were still others who left the communion entirely, and attached themselves to other ecclesiastical bodies. These, however, we are sorry to say, seldom prospered. Sometimes they did, but not often. For the most part they either totally backslid, or lived deeply to regret the step they had taken. An instance may not be out of place.

Dr. Peck, speaking of one of the preachers who traveled the Otsego circuit in 1811, says, p. 374: "The news that R. was college bred came on in advance of him, and great expectations were raised. He made his first debut at the house of Luther Peck on a week-day evening. A full house was gathered at a short notice, but some one else preached. R. was well dressed; his jet black hair hung in curls on his shoulders; he was tall, his figure was imposing and his countenance benignant, but his manner was singular. While the preacher proceeded with his discourse R. held his face in his hands, and often sighed and groaned. All that was well enough, as it was common, but scarcely met the idea of a man from college. The sermon concluded, R. arose, and before he was fairly up began,

"Soon as from earth I go,  
What will become of me?"

Mr. Peck, the old chorister, led off, and all the congregation as usual sang. The new preacher then poured forth a torrent of fire and brimstone upon us, which made the outsiders writhe and dodge as if the house was being shaken down by an earthquake," etc., describing a scene not unfrequent in those early days.

The writer has a distinct recollection of the preacher in question, for he too heard him in the days of his boyhood. For a long time, however, he entirely lost sight of him, understanding simply that, lured by the example or influenced by the persuasions of the Rev. W. B. Lacy, he had gone to the Protestant Episcopal Church. Some forty years afterward he saw him again, and learned from him that, though still a member of that communion, he did not preach. The interview was transient, and made no very deep impression, though it was then thought that Mr. R. still retained a very tender recollection of those early days. A few years subsequently the writer was on board the cars, returning from an official excursion, when he noticed a venerable and kindly looking old gentleman, who seemed to be eyeing him closely, and of whose general appearance he thought he had some recollection. After a little the old gentleman came and seated himself by the side of the writer, and said: "I am not mistaken; this is Dr. ——. I am glad to see you, and feel that I must not let this opportunity pass without saying to you what I purposely called on you to say at O., but what I could not then, somehow, get courage to say. I am fearful that I am ruined forever by having forsaken the post of duty in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Tears running down his cheeks, he continued: "I would give worlds, had I them at command, could I be assured that the Sovereign Judge will excuse me in the last day for my delinquency. The years I spent in the itinerancy, though years of persecution, privation, and suffering, were the happiest years of my life. Now that I am getting near the close of my earthly pilgrimage, I look back upon them with a degree of pleasure equaled only by the regret I feel in view of my subsequent defection. I often feel that I would like to raise a note of warning in the ear of every member of your connection, and beseech him not to do as I have done. O do tell them from me," he added with great emphasis, "to toil on, and not to think of abandoning the field, if they would avoid the heart-breaking regrets I now feel." This is but a part of what was said by this venerable old gentleman during an interview that can never be forgotten. Neither the object of the present paper nor its necessary limits will, however, admit of a more extended report.

Dr. Peck's history contains many graphic and accurately drawn

portraits of the more noticeable men of those early times. Besides those thrown upon the canvas incidentally, in connection with scenes and incidents which the author knows how so well to delineate, he gives, in a more distinct and formal way, the character of the Revs. Anning Owen, Valentine Cook, Anthony Turck, William Colbert, Benoni Harris, Jonathan Newman, Timothy Dewey, Benjamin Bidlack, Josiah Keyes, George Evans, Horace Agard, Marmaduke Pearce, George Gary, Elisha Bibbins, and George Lane, all of whom labored zealously and extensively, and some of them very successfully, in cultivating this portion of Immanuel's land. Other actors of equal prominence might have been noticed, and doubtless would have been, had the author been supplied with the requisite data. A few additional names and characters may not, therefore, be either uninteresting to the reader, or out of place in the present article.

Of this class was ISAAC PUFFER. Though his origin was humble, and his early advantages inconsiderable, he became one of the most useful preachers of his time. His great strength lay in the ease and skill with which he quoted and applied the Sacred Text. In this respect he probably had no compeer in the whole connection. Of philosophy he had no more knowledge than he had of polite literature, and certainly had very little of either; but everything in "the book divine" was at his tongue's end. And one peculiarity in his preaching was, he always gave book, chapter, and verse.

In the early part of his ministry the Calvinistic controversy largely engrossed public attention. The Calvinism of that day was of the pure, unmixed kind. So extreme was it, that it would now be called Antinomianism even by the Calvinists themselves. The proper moral agency of man was practically ignored, if not theoretically and verbally denied. Sinners were treated as if they could do nothing, and therefore really had nothing to do; while saints were safe any how, as they could not do otherwise than persevere. Men were mere passive agents in the hands of God, if indeed agents at all, and acted only as they were acted on. When the writer was a boy, a grave old divine, who was very anxious to keep "the poison of Arminianism," as he called it, out of his father's house, spent long hours there in debate with a member of the family who was avowedly inclined to the heresy in question. In one instance, to illustrate the "divine sovereignty," he took the fire-shovel in his hand and said: "There, the sinner is in God's hand just as this shovel is in mine. Now he is moving him right on toward hell, (suiting the action to the teaching,) and now (reversing the movement,) toward heaven."

So long as views like these were prevalent among the masses, early Methodist preachers felt that they could do little in leading men to repentance and Christian activity. Hence a preliminary work, almost everywhere to be done, was to dislodge these errors from the popular mind. Controversial preaching was therefore, in a sense, quite unavoidable. However averse to it, either from temperament or otherwise, every itinerant was obliged to take the attitude of a polemic. Those of the present day, when there is such a practical convergency in the current theological systems, can have little idea of the difficulties then to be overcome. But while *all* had then, in a peculiar sense, "to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints," *some* seemed to have a singular talent for the controversy, and therefore a special call to it. Such was Isaac Puffer. Generous and tender-hearted as he was, almost to a fault, the violent peculiarities of the Genevan creed received no mercy at his hand. His onslaughts were terrible. When he opened his scriptural battery, the enemy must either retreat or capitulate, or, at least, disguise himself. Two or three hundred proof-texts, by no means an unusual number in one single discourse, wrought into a chain by his masterly hand, speedily did the work. Probably, indeed, no other man of his day contributed anything like as much as he did to disabuse the popular mind of these paralyzing errors. During the latter part of his public life, however, he had little occasion to preach in this strain, and really seemed to enjoy exceedingly the most intimate relations and tender communions with those very people whose doctrinal creed he had demolished with such an unsparing hand. His was, indeed, a war of love.

Another form of error against which he aimed, if possible, a still more effective blow, was Universalism. This, as a kind of offshoot of hyper-Calvinism, had almost everywhere diffused itself. Receiving the dogma that "God hath unchangeably foreordained whatsoever comes to pass," it maintained that man could not be justly punished in a future state. Why send him to perdition for doing just what God eternally designed he should do? The logic was simple, and people who had been accustomed to hear and believe the doctrine of "the divine decrees," had little difficulty in accepting the soothing corollary. Indeed, the conclusion seemed to be quite as irresistible as it was comforting. So thought vast multitudes, and hence Universalism was found in almost every nook and corner of Old Genesee. And, if already safe, what need was there of man's troubling himself about his salvation? The matter was all settled without *his* agency, and he had only to wait till God saw proper to take him to the land of rest. Thus reasoned and thus acted no

inconsiderable percentage of our population. Universalism must, therefore, be shown to be untenable, and the hopes inspired by it to be delusive; for till sinners could be made to see their danger, there was scarcely any possibility of leading them to repentance.

Such were the deliberate convictions of Puffer, and he governed himself accordingly. For the same reason he preached at all, therefore he deemed it his duty to oppose Universalism. But here, as elsewhere, the only magazine whence he drew his munitions of war was found amply sufficient for his purpose. With Book in hand, he was always ready for battle. The abettors of a dangerous error quailed before him. Its mightiest champions stood no chance at all before his sweeping battery. If, as was sometimes the case, they sought a personal tilt, the challenge was eagerly accepted, when evangelical truth was sure of a triumphant vindication. Debates of this sort are seldom thought to be profitable; but, as conducted by him, they were not unfrequently productive of salutary results. But Puffer did not always wait for a challenge; he took the initiative himself. Wherever he went he raised his voice against what he believed to be a dangerous error. The pathos and power with which he preached against Universalism were truly wonderful. Deep and irrepressible emotion would sometimes all but overcome him, causing him to tremble from head to foot like an aspen leaf. He not only trembled himself, but caused others to tremble. At the close of one of his great efforts, at a camp-meeting in Madison Co., N. Y., held some thirty years since, a large number of Universalists—it was said, at the time, at least fifty—came forward for prayers, many of whom began from that hour to lead new lives. All over Central and Western New York, and in portions of the Canadas, persons are still to be found in large numbers who were led from Universalism to evangelical orthodoxy by this powerful preacher of God's word. No other man among us ever did a tithe of the work in this way that he did.

He was an indefatigable laborer. During a large portion of his public life he preached one or two sermons every day. He would not only perform all the labors of a large circuit, but was ready to respond, whenever he could, to calls from surrounding charges—calls that would have been of burdensome frequency to most other men. Indeed, he seemed never so happy as when in the pulpit. With the masses he was always exceedingly popular; but no one enjoyed his preaching better than he did himself. He loved the work, and he performed a vast amount of it. He had a large, muscular frame, and a fine musical voice, so that preaching really taxed him probably much less than it does most other men.

A more generous heart than his never beat in the human bosom. He feared nobody, but loved everybody. Affliction anywhere at once enlisted his active sympathies. No matter what was the sufferer's character or condition, if he only fell under Puffer's observation he might be sure of having a brother's hand extended to him. If he could not relieve, he would at least pity. Like his Divine Master, he went about doing good. An instance may not be out of place. When traveling the Cayuga circuit, some twenty-five or more years since, he was passing through the village of Auburn, on his way to a public engagement, when the team of some countryman who had come to town took fright and ran away. Such things were of daily occurrence in their streets, and the citizens, intent upon their *own* business, scarcely noticed the incident. Not so with Puffer. Seeing the poor man's affliction, though a total stranger, he could not leave him. With all his strength and agility he started off in pursuit of the fleeing horses, and so intense was his anxiety that he really seemed to be more deeply interested than the owner himself. He had, in fact, by deep and tender sympathy, made the case his own. This little incident is referred to as an index to his whole social character. He would do the same thing, or its equivalent, every day in the year, without ever thinking he had done more than was usual among good men.

His honesty was transparent. So patent, indeed, was his child-like simplicity, that he was widely known by the *sobriquet*, "Honest Isaac." He seemed to have scarcely any idea of human policy. His own plans, and purposes, and motives of action were always right on the surface, and there was just where he looked for those of other men. No wonder that impositions were sometimes practiced upon him, and no wonder that, to the superficial eye, he sometimes appeared to be vain, for he always spoke of his own failures and successes just as he did of the failures and successes of other men. At the close of the camp-meeting sermon spoken of above a brother met him outside the ground, and said, "Brother Puffer, you had a good time to-day." With the most perfect self-satisfaction legible all over his countenance, he approached the brother, and laying his hand familiarly on his shoulder, responded, "Yes, brother, I *had* a good time. In truth, it is my preaching on some of these great subject that makes me so popular. When I preach on common topics I can't preach any better than the rest of you." Near the same time he met the same individual in the village of Cazenovia, and reining his horse up to the side walk, said to him: "Brother, I want *you* to go down to Chittenango and preach, for the people there think that no Methodist preacher is fit to be heard but *me*, and I want to



have them learn better." It is said by some that he never learned to conceal his heart! Good man, he is now with a multitude of his spiritual children amid the glories of the throne.

Equally entitled to notice is the late excellent WILLIAM CASE. He entered the itinerancy in 1805, and toiled on for about half a century, when God took him to his heavenly home. Scarcely any other member of Old Genesee was more widely known or more generally beloved. Though in the pulpit he was by no means remarkable, his executive talent was of a high order; and he knew how to plan as well as how to execute. As presiding elder, he was among the very best. His wakeful eye swept a broad field, and he always knew how to select the more salient points. The mission was projected, and the circuit formed at just the right time and place. If a church was to be erected, he was the right man to consult. He took his pocket-rule with him into the pulpit, and often at the close of a service would measure heights and distances in and about it, so as to be prepared to give advice elsewhere. Nothing that concerned either the temporal or spiritual good of the Church, within his appropriate field, escaped his observation. PRACTICAL WISDOM was his distinguishing characteristic.

His zeal to do good knew no bounds. Sacrifice, and trial, and suffering, so far from being appalling, were his supreme delight. He counted not his life dear if he might but extend the triumphs of Immanuel's reign. Central New York and the Canadas still bear the impress of his moulding hand. His last days were devoted to the temporal and spiritual good of the Rice Lake Indians in Canada West.

Our subject had a well-cultivated mind, and was really an accomplished Christian gentleman. A more agreeable companion is, indeed, seldom found. He mingled cheerfulness with gravity, and the playfulness of the child with the wisdom of the sage. With a sanctified heart, a polished intellect, a fine person, and a musical voice, he was fit to mingle in any society. Such a man could not fail to have warmly-attached friends, and no man certainly ever better deserved to have them.

Though Case held a ready pen, he did not write largely. His migratory habits would not admit of it. Till the last few years of his life, when his labors were comparatively local, he was almost continually on the move. Emphatically may it be said of him, more so, perhaps, than of most other itinerants, "He had no certain dwelling-place." Still, he wrote frequently for our Church periodicals, and will be found by the future historian to have contributed much that cannot fail to be of permanent value to

coming generations. The Church should shed tears of gratitude at his grave.

SETH MATTESON was also another prominent actor in the militant triumphs of Old Genesee. Entering the itinerancy in 1810, he labored with zeal and distinguished success for some thirty-five years, when God took him to himself. He was born a poet. \* His thoughts, by something like an irrepressible instinct, ran into verse. No wonder, then, that he wrote much in this way. The only volume he ever published, entitled, "The Retired Muse; or, Forest Songster," contains some poems surpassed by few others of American origin. The larger number of his poetical compositions were suggested by passing occurrences, and of course acquired little more than a newspaper notoriety. Some of these will, however, be found to possess considerable merit, and well deserve a place in the poetical archives of the nation.

As a divine, he ranked with the first among us. Though he commenced his public life with little, he finally achieved a splendid scholarship. He was constantly employed in adding to his stores of theological knowledge, and grew stronger and stronger, as every Christian minister should, to the close of life. Some of his last sermons were among his very best. Several of his discourses have been published, some in pamphlet form, and some in our Magazine and Quarterly, which the reader will find replete with just and elevated thoughts, expressed in language eminently suited to the pulpit. The theater of his public labors was Central New York. So great was his modesty, however, that he always shrank from the larger towns and more important charges, and greatly preferred the smaller villages and more rural portions of the Conference. In these, therefore, he spent most of his ministerial life, always loving and ever beloved. Not only were thousands led by him to the foot of the cross, but the Church was strengthened and built up under his able pastorate.

His temperament was much like that of the poet Cowper. The exquisiteness of his sensibility can hardly be imagined. It was like the apple of one's eye. Of course, he both suffered much and enjoyed much. What was gentle and amiable all but entranced him, while what was coarse and vulgar appalled and greatly distressed him. A rabbit, could he have consistently domiciliated one, would have been treated by him as the poet to whom we have likened him treated his.

An incident will show his disposition. While traveling the Herkimer circuit, at least fifty years since, he tarried all night at one of his appointments with a local preacher by the name of Matthew

Lewis, who cultivated a small farm, and otherwise lived much in the style of his humble neighbors. When Matteson arose in the morning he found a sheep tied near the door, whose innocent looks at once challenged his attention. Learning from his host, who was sharpening his knife near by, that it had been caught with a view to slaughter, he approached it, held out his hand and talked to it, until the gentle animal seemed really to comprehend and appreciate his sympathies, licking his hand and looking him wistfully in the face. This reacted upon the sympathizer until he fairly wept. "Brother," said he to the owner, "do let the poor creature go." The response was, "We are much in want of fresh meat; I have had a long and tedious run to catch the animal, and now I do not like to change my purpose. Besides, I have had *your* comfort specially in view in planning the present slaughter, and could not give you what my wife would regard as a satisfactory breakfast without it." The thought that he himself had supplied any part of the motive for the contemplated deed of blood almost overwhelmed him, and greatly stimulated his desire to effect a liberation. "Brother," said he, with a sort of passionate earnestness, "I will never eat another mouthful of flesh in your house as long as I live, if you will only let the poor sheep go." "That," replied the owner, "I cannot consistently do. But I will turn her over to *you*: if you see proper to loose her and let her go, of course I shall not kill her." It is hardly necessary to add that the deed of emancipation was speedily executed, and the intercessor delighted to see the intended victim bounding off into her accustomed pasture. "There," said the local preacher some years afterward, when narrating the circumstances, "the old sheep is now down in the field, and there she shall remain till God takes her. I can neither kill nor part with an animal whose life has been spared at the instance of so good a man and so dear a friend."

Such a man could hardly be otherwise than strong in his attachments. There were a delicacy and ardency, and yet a considerateness in his social feelings, which gave a sort of charm, we had almost said a kind of *divinity*, to his friendships. God and his friends, the one supreme, the other subordinate, were the chief sources of his happiness. His end was peace, and he now lives where friendship knows no alloy.

ABNER CHASE was another kindred spirit. He entered the itinerancy the same year, (1810,) but lived some time longer to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. Though his mode of sermonizing was *sui generis*, his preaching was singularly effective. It abounded in anecdote, and scarcely ever failed to rivet attention.

Sometimes it was overwhelmingly powerful. Though he had what would be called a homely face, yet, when lit up with a smile, as it generally was when he was preaching, and when his mild blue eye, sparkling with intelligence and holy joy, looked out upon a congregation, none could have a more attractive presence. At such times he appeared like an angel, in something more than an ecclesiastical sense. In his more happy moods he would frequently raise his long finger to his cheek, as if brushing off a fly, or pass it back over his temple, as though he would restore the hair to its proper place; the whole, however, being a mere habit, expressive of good feeling. But then those who frequently heard him preach were always glad to see it, as it was either a sure presage or an invariable accompaniment of a rare entertainment. These characteristic movements became more frequent as he became more impassioned, and soon the whole assembly would begin to melt and sublimiate, as though losing their hold on terrestrial things. A distinguished civil functionary, who was equally distinguished as a scholar, once heard him when thus inspired, and was so deeply affected as to be barely able to remain on his feet. So he himself afterward declared.

Though one of the holiest and best of men, Chase had a keen perception of the ludicrous, and could laugh as heartily as any one, and yet was careful never to descend from the dignity of his profession. Everywhere, and on all occasions, he was the Christian minister. Nor did he labor in vain. He left abiding fruit wherever he toiled. Few among us have, indeed, been instrumental in leading more souls to the Saviour. He presided on a district, and traveled a circuit or filled a station, equally well. He was always found equal to every post to which he was providentially called. Few men ever had more friends or fewer enemies: of the latter it is wonderful he should have had any. Generations must pass away before the name of Abner Chase will cease to be venerated in Central and Western New York.

One more name will complete the list of the more prominent men, now departed, who toiled for God and his Church in Old Genesee. JONATHAN HUESTIS was also admitted to the itinerancy in 1810, and continued his connection therewith, though some time in a superannuated relation, till a year or two since, when he too entered into rest. He was a man of deep piety, of a blameless life, of a well-cultivated intellect, and of highly respectable preaching talents. For many years he was secretary of Conference, some time filled the office of presiding elder, and elsewhere frequently occupied posts of honor and responsibility. Though not brilliant, he always summed up well. He had a remarkably well balanced mind, and seldom made

any great mistake in his plans and estimates. A man of more scrupulous honor never blessed the world. He would not do a mean thing for any earthly consideration; and what he would not do himself he would not countenance others in doing. At the same time he always bore himself meekly. A more unpretending man, both in word and manner, could hardly be imagined. As life wore away he became still more humble and childlike, his greatness and goodness appearing in higher perfection, and shining with more than usual radiance.

Times, it is said, make men, and there is palpable philosophy in the aphorism. Times similar to those which made the men spoken of above may not soon, perhaps will never, occur again. A few more of the same class still linger among us, but the day to speak of *them* has not yet come. May that day be a distant one! Many others of less prominence, but still worthy of high consideration and affectionate remembrance, have also joined "the venerable dead." Further specifications would, however, be quite inconsistent with the necessary limits of the present paper.

Such, then, were the men by whose instrumentality the mighty achievements, so apparent in the ample fields of Old Genesee, were effected. Of their various fortune, their painful trials, their glorious triumphs, the book under review gives a very tolerable idea, though the larger portion of their history must forever remain unwritten. The judgment day can alone declare it.

The fortune of the early itinerants was, as has just been intimated, exceedingly various. So far from being always somber and depressing, it was sometimes exactly the reverse. The most grave among them occasionally met with what not only invited, but absolutely compelled a smile. The following, which we are permitted to copy from the private journals of the Rev. Solon Stocking, a veteran still living, will show not only what amusing scenes sometimes fell under their observation, but the state of feeling which had been created in many quarters by the Calvinistic controversy. The writer says:

"In the fall of 1822, in company with the Rev. Elisha Bibbins, I commenced my ministerial labors on the Canaan circuit. It being the first time the charge had been favored with the labors of two men, we were enabled considerably to enlarge its area by taking in several new appointments. One of these appointments was at Stockport, on the west branch of the Delaware, Wayne Co., Pa. A few incidents in connection with my first and second visits to this place I will here detail, as I think them worthy of record. On reaching Stockport, I found myself in front of a fine residence, owned and occupied, as I subsequently learned, by the Hon. Samuel Preston, a native of Philadelphia, who had not only been trained from his infancy an orthodox Quaker, but was a man of high literary attainments. On arriving at the gate I remained in my

saddle hallooing to those within. Soon a venerable looking gentleman, apparently some sixty years old, and six and a half feet in height, made his appearance at the door. I inquired, 'Does Judge Preston reside here?' He responded, 'My name is Preston; who art thou?' I gave him my name, told him I was a minister of the Gospel, and expressed a desire to preach at his house, or some where else in the vicinity. He elevated his head, and scanning me with a piercing look, said with startling emphasis, 'Art thou a *predestinarian*? If thou art, there is the road, thou mayest pass on; no Quakers here to be hung.' I told him I was a Methodist preacher, and that I neither believed in nor preached Calvinism. In the most cordial manner he then invited me into his house, and sent messengers throughout the neighborhood to give information that there would be preaching at his dwelling that evening. The result was a good congregation of attentive hearers. At the close of the service the judge arose from his seat, his eyes red with weeping, and entreated me to leave another appointment, which I did for four weeks from that day. When I came the second time I was received by the family with every mark of attention, and was greatly encouraged to see the house filled with interested hearers. In the opening exercises I read the ninth chapter of the epistle to the Romans. I had not proceeded far when the judge arose, and with much feeling requested that I would not read *that* chapter, as the people would be much more benefited by hearing some other portion of the Bible. After a short pause, without any reply, I proceeded with the reading, observing, however, that the eyes of the congregation were turned toward the judge, who appeared much agitated. At the proper time I announced as my text Rom. ix, 22, 23: 'What if God, willing to show his wrath,' etc. When I had read it the judge, apparently overcome with emotion, instantly arose to his feet and said: 'Stocking, thee had better not preach on that text; that is the very key to Calvinism; thee can find a far better text than that.' Pausing a while, I resumed the subject, when the judge, as if he could no longer control his pent up feelings, sprang to his feet and poured forth a torrent of invective, calling in question the truth of the chapter, alleging that it was the key to Calvinism, that St. Paul was mistaken when he wrote it, and insisting that I should not preach on it. I respectfully requested the judge to be quiet and permit me to proceed. The people were now in the highest state of excitement, when his daughter, who was seated by his side, took hold of the skirt of his coat and earnestly entreated him to be seated and quietly listen to the preacher. After giving him the most positive assurance that the doctrines of Calvinism should not be advocated, I was permitted to conclude my sermon without further molestation. The service seemed to give good satisfaction to all, not excepting even the judge."

There was perhaps a little more of the *comical* in this scene than was frequent, especially during the hours of public worship, in those early days. Still, strange things did often occur in connection with the labors of the first intinerants, with which it were easy to fill a volume, and of which the reader will find an entertaining variety in Dr. Peck's history. The "orthodoxy" of the judge, however, who is the hero of the scene so graphically described, we think not a little questionable. It would seem much more probable that he was an incipient Hicksite than an orthodox Quaker. Be this as it may, all must admit that he had singular notions, learned though he may have been, of what becomes the house and worship of God. Even these mirth-provoking scenes had, however, under the wise and be-



nignant economy of Heaven, their use. They were doubtless often beneficial even to the men who were, at the moment, most annoyed by them. Destitute, tempted, persecuted, worn down, without any certain dwelling-place, they were in constant danger of falling into despondency, if not utter discouragement. But by a kind of counter blow upon their feelings, even in the possible absence of higher motives and better influences, these ludicrous scenes often gave an upward direction to their animal spirits, and thus counteracted any existing tendencies to a morbid melancholy. At any rate, it is a historic fact that no men were ever more uniformly cheerful, more perfectly free from hypochondria, than these same care-worn and suffering itinerants. Underlying the whole, there was, doubtless, unyielding religious principle, there was strong faith, there was an unshaken trust in God, as well as quenchless love for humanity. But, at the same time, it is in exact harmony with God's visible mode of procedure to suppose that he may, and often does, make merely natural means tributary to high moral ends.

The history of early Methodism in Old Genesee, though somewhat miscellaneous and fragmentary, as all *first* histories—histories of recent events—necessarily are, is nevertheless a book of great merit. It is in the writer's best style. The author has not only taken great pains to collect materials, but has displayed his well-known skill in the use he makes of them. They are generally arranged with a master's hand. As is perfectly natural, the southern wing of the Conference in question receives a larger share of Dr. Peck's attention than any other portion of it. Methodism was first planted in the Wyoming Valley, and consequently had a longer historical day there, and of course more historical material, than elsewhere in the specified field. In some sense, the Church in the Valley is "the mother of us all." From thence came our first evangelical supplies. Preachers from the South made their way to us through the Susquehanna Valley, a few years at least, before they were joined by those from the East, coming up through the Mohawk Valley. Besides, the author's longer residence and more ample acquaintance in Northern Pennsylvania gave him special advantages in acquiring historical data from that portion of the field. With the same facilities he would doubtless have known more, and consequently would have been enabled to say more, of the northern and western portions of our territory. As a first effort, however, at collecting and systematizing the more important facts and incidents in the history of this pregnant conference, Dr. Peck has done all one man could be expected to do. Other hands must now contribute to the common stock, so that the still future annalist may be supplied

with material out of which to form a homogeneous and comprehensive whole. So far as Canada is concerned this work is now being done by a competent hand, whose annals, it is said, will open a rich mine of ministerial romance. Black River Conference, the northern wing of Old Genesee, should soon furnish her quota. When she shall have done so, and when the long-promised "Genesee Vine," by the Rev. Manly Tooker, shall hang out her ripened fruit, then Dr. Stevens will be fully furnished for his final volume.

In the mean time let every one, who would be either instructed or amused, procure and read Dr. Peck's book. The romance, the pious chivalry, the heroic exploits of Early Methodism cannot fail to interest, whatever may be the reader's particular religious views. To those who cordially sympathize in the Wesleyan reformation, the perusal will be not only pleasing, but eminently profitable. We will only add that the volume before us is of the same form and style as that of Dr. Stevens's History of Methodism, and is a fine specimen of what Carlton & Porter are in the habit of doing at 200 Mulberry-street, New York.

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#### ART. V.—VITTORIA COLONNA.

*Life of Vittoria Colonna.* By T. ADOLPHUS TROLLOPE. New York: Sheldon & Co.  
*Memoir of Vittoria Colonna.* By JOHN T. HARFORD, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S. London:  
 Longman, Brown, Green, Longman, & Roberts.

VITTORIA COLONNA, the most distinguished poetess of Italy, was born in 1490, two years before the discovery of the New World. The noble and princely house of Colonna, long the lords of great possessions, had recently been enriched by Martin, the Colonna Pope, the great uncle of Fabrizio, Vittoria's father, by the bestowment of many beautiful towns and castles in the hills to the east and southeast of the Campagna. It was in one of these, the Castle Gondolfo, on the wooded heights that overlook the picturesque town of Marino, that Vittoria was born. Her parents had chosen this charming spot among the hills that encircle the lovely lake of Albano to enjoy their first years of wedded life, and peace smiled on the land for the period, unusually long in those troublous times, of eight years.

When Vittoria was four years of age, Charles VIII. of France, aided by the Colonnas, invaded Naples, was crowned king, and was speedily driven out of his newly-acquired kingdom by Ferdinand of Arragon. The new king, who reigned but little more than a

year, to secure the continued adherence of the Colonnas, who now ranged themselves under his banners, betrothed Vittoria to the son of the Marquis of Pescara, Ferdinand d'Avalos, a child of her own age. The marquis died the following year, and the young Ferdinand, with his betrothed wife, was placed under the care of his eldest sister, Costunza d'Avalos, the widowed Duchessa di Francavilla. Well was it for Vittoria that she fell into such wise and gentle hands. So highly did Ferdinand esteem the duchess, that on the death of her husband he made her governor and chatelaine of Ischia, one of the most important posts in the kingdom. In addition to the prudence, energy, and fidelity necessary for such a trust, her intellectual culture well qualified her to direct the education of children born to high destinies.

Vittoria in after years recurs with fond affection to her memories of this romantic isle. A safe and sheltered home it proved for the Roman girl, whose birthplace would have afforded her no sufficient protection. The order for its destruction was issued by Pope Alexander Borgia in 1501, but it seems not to have been executed, as we read that the pretty town of Marino was burned by order of Clement VII. in 1526.

We have scarce any record of Vittoria's childhood and youth, which passed in great tranquillity. One noteworthy event occurred when she was eleven years of age. Her father then visited the island in company with Frederic, the last and best-beloved of the Arragonese kings, who, forced to abandon his dominions to the French monarch, found refuge here with his wife and two children for several months.

So richly gifted were Vittoria and her betrothed husband, that it is not to be wondered at that their childish affection deepened into an ardent attachment. Vittoria had the highest style of Roman beauty, luxuriant golden hair, a finely-developed brow, large thoughtful eyes, and regular features; and Pescara with his auburn hair, his aquiline nose, his large eyes, soft and gentle when they rested on her, but at times full of fire, his stately bearing, his brief speech, in keeping with his Spanish lineage, his poetic taste and knightly accomplishment, might well win the love of the playmate of his childhood. Her hand was sought by many illustrious suitors, among them the Dukes of Savoy and Braganza, but she was faithful to her early engagement. After a visit to the home of her parents, who seemed strangely content to resign to other hands the childhood and girlhood as well as womanhood of their daughter, so richly endowed with all those gifts and graces that win the fondest affection, Vittoria, escorted by a large company of Roman nobles,

journeyed from Marino to Ischia, where, with much pomp and splendor, the marriage was celebrated on the 27th December, 1509.

Two years of tranquil happiness passed swiftly away, leaving no records of their peaceful progress. The youthful noble began to think it a life of inglorious ease; and though there were those who would have dissuaded the last scion of a noble house from thus early beginning his career of arms, his voice was still for war. In company with his father-in-law he set off for Lombardy, and joined the Papal and Spanish army under the walls of Ravenna. It was an inauspicious moment for the young soldier to begin his military career, as the army which he joined was totally defeated by the French. He fought bravely, and, sorely wounded in his face, was left for dead on the battle-field, where he was picked up and taken prisoner to Milan. He beguiled the solitary hours of his captivity by writing a Dialogue of Love, addressed to his wife, to which however we cannot refer for information as to the tone of his thoughts and feelings, for men have willingly let it die. The poem in which the thoughts of the young wife found expression is interesting, as being the first of those poetical efforts that have made her name so famous. It is an epistle of one hundred and twelve lines, addressed to her husband, and though classical and elegant, betrays no deep and impassioned feeling.

This captivity was not of long duration. As soon as his wounds were healed the prisoner was released, through the good offices of Trivulzio, a general in the French army, who had married Pescara's aunt, on the payment of a ransom of six thousand ducats, and he returned to gladden the heart of his lovely wife. War, however, was to be his life-long occupation, and he allowed himself brief intervals of rest at home. This visit, though only of a few months' duration, was the longest he was ever to know of domestic satisfactions and joys. Early in 1513 he rejoined the army in Lombardy, and distinguished himself not only for his bravery and military skill, but for his cruelty and ferocity, his stern discipline, and for the wide-spread misery that he caused. The great captain was honored and rewarded, and borne onward in a full tide of prosperity.

In the mean while Vittoria remained at Ischia, where the Duchessa di Francavilla held her island court, to which was attracted a goodly company of poets and men of letters, who delighted to sing the praises of this

"Proud rock! the loved retreat of such a band  
Of earth's best, noblest, greatest, that their light  
Pales other glories to the dazzled sight.

° ° ° ° ° ° ° °

Glory of martial deeds is thine. In thee,  
Brightest the world e'er saw or heaven gave,  
Dwell chastest beauty, worth, and courtesy!  
Well be it with thee! May both wind and sea  
Respect thee, and thy native air and wave  
Be tempered ever by a genial sky!"

These lines are from a sonnet of Bernardo Tasso, one of the most distinguished of this brilliant circle, among whom were Giovio, Caritie, Filocalo, Rota, Musefilo, and others. Bernardo Tasso was three years younger than Vittoria, of an ancient and noble family, highly educated and accomplished, and already known as a poet throughout Italy. He subsequently won a high name as an epic and lyric poet, though his fame has been overshadowed by that of his son Torquato.

Vittoria, however, did not content herself merely with enjoying this intellectual society. One fact recorded of her says more for her woman's heart than all the records and sonnets of that accomplished circle. Having no children of her own, she undertook the education of a young cousin of her husband, Alphonso d'Avalos. She might well have shrunk from such a task. The boy, beautiful as an angel, was so undisciplined and ungovernable that his violence terrified all those who had attempted to control him. There was nothing of the angelic in his nature. But Vittoria discerned an element of hopefulness there, and with her gentle touch she tamed the lion within him. The boy, so impetuous and irritable with others, acknowledged her potent sway, and loved her as a mother. His proud nature was subdued and softened; a taste for intellectual pursuits was awakened; and the pupil of Vittoria, in his subsequent career as a soldier of renown, reflected honor on the discerning hand that had detected and developed the latent powers within. Vittoria was fully rewarded for her patient courage by the honored career of her pupil, and by the life-long respect and affection she received from this child of her heart.

In February, 1517, a brilliant festival was held at Ischia in honor of the wedding of the sister of Alphonso Costanza d'Avalos to Don Alfonso Piccolomini, and in December of the same year Vittoria was present, with the nobility of Naples, at the marriage of the King of Poland to Donna Bona Sforza. An humble chronicler, Passeri, the weaver of Naples, has given us a picture of the illustrious lady, the Signora Vittoria, Marchioness of Pescara, as she arrived at the church where the ceremony was to be performed. Mounted on a black and white jennet, with housings of crimson velvet fringed with gold, she was richly attired in a robe of bro-

caded crimson velvet, adorned with branches of beaten gold. Her cap was of crimson satin, with a head-dress of wrought gold above it, and her girdle of beaten gold. She was accompanied by six ladies in waiting, attired in blue damask, and attended by six grooms on foot, with cloaks and jerkins of blue satin. Three days were spent in wedding festivities, and then Vittoria returned to her quiet home at Ischia.

The death of her father in 1520, and that of her mother two years afterward, left her an orphan, and the continued absence of her husband from a home which he only visited three or four times in seven years, must have saddened the heart of the wife, who was never to know the compensating touch of little hands, or to be soothed by the prattle of childish voices. The autumn of the year that her mother died she saw her husband for the last time; a brief three days, not overshadowed by the knowledge that their earthly meetings and partings were henceforth for those two at an end.

The remaining years of his life accorded with its beginning. He sacked Genoa, received three wounds at the battle of Pavia, where Francis was taken prisoner, and at thirty-five was made general-in-chief of the armies of Lombardy. Pescara, however, was offended with his imperial master for taking the royal captive out of his hands and sending him to Spain, and his discontent becoming known, efforts were made by the pope and his counselors to induce him to become traitor to Charles, and use the army intrusted to him to crush the Spanish power in Italy. Morone, chancellor, and prime minister of the Duke of Milan, was charged with this negotiation, and empowered to offer the sovereignty of Naples as a reward to the discontented general. Pescara received these overtures favorably; but alarmed at the disappearance of a messenger intrusted with secret dispatches, which he feared might be laid before Charles, he wrote at once to the emperor disclosing the whole scheme, and declaring that he had only listened to it that he might possess himself of the details of the conspiracy. Still believing that Pescara had acceded to their proposals, Morone was induced to meet him at Novara, where he discussed all the secret plans in the presence of Antonio da Leyva, one of the generals of the Spanish army, who was hidden behind the hangings of the room in which the conference was held. Morone was at once arrested, imprisoned, and examined the next day by Pescara as judge. Morone might well, after such an experience, pronounce him to be one of the worst and most faithless men in Italy. This infamy was rewarded, however, by the rank of generalissimo of the imperial forces in Italy.



A letter of Vittoria's to her husband besought him not to stain his character by betraying his imperial master, and declared that she had no ambition to be the wife of a king, but only of a loyal and just man; and one writer has asserted that this wifely appeal deterred him from his proposed treachery. She never saw her husband after this painful passage in his history. Nor did he live to enjoy the rank bought at the expense of his good name. At the close of the year his health declined, and anticipating a fatal result, he sent to his wife to come to him at once. He was at Milan, and though she traveled with all speed, the departing soul waited not her coming, and the proud general died as he had lived, without the gentle ministry of his loving wife. He died November 25th, 1525, and was buried at Milan; but the body was soon after, with great display and magnificence, removed to Naples.

And thus was Vittoria left a widow at thirty-six, in the full pride of her beauty, accomplished, learned, admired, of noble family, great wealth, and distinguished position. All these great gifts seemed to her of very little account when the overwhelming grief fell upon her at Viterbo, where the news of her husband's death met her. The playmate of her childhood, the lover of her youth, the honored husband, viewed in the dazzling light of military fame, which had concealed his faults or invested them with an unreal glory, was taken from her, and she had only a memory. It was well perhaps for the strength of her affection that his visits at home had been so brief; her ideal was never destroyed. She never saw him cruel and ferocious; to her he was always the tender husband rejoicing in his beautiful wife, and in the dear delights, so seldom tasted, of his tranquil home. Through long years of widowhood she retained his image, as it was first enshrined in her heart, in all its early beauty. The stories of his cruelty and severity may not have been told her, or they may have been considered as the inevitable evils attendant on what, in those belligerent days, was considered as the noblest of professions. Distance lent enchantment to martial deeds; the horrors of carnage and the battle-field, not then, as now, daguerreotyped by pencils of light and transmitted on the wings of the lightning, gave out great inarticulate cries not heard in courtly circles. The din and roar of the conflict were hushed into faint murmurs ere they reached the rock-bound Ischia, while eulogies of the great Pescara made the echoes reverberate with his honored name.

Of sixteen years of married life this wedded pair spent but little more than three years together. Her finer organization was spared the deteriorating influence of daily communion with a coarser and

more earthly nature, which might lower her "to his level day by day." Accustomed to days and years of absence, Vittoria had not to miss the constant presence, the daily bread of her life. Ever at a distance, death only removed him to a land very far off, and she there addressed him in the language of bereaved and undying affection.

Overwhelmed at the first terrible blow, Vittoria hastened to Rome and took refuge in the Convent of San Silvestro in Capite, which had been especially patronized by the Colonna family. Her friends feared that in the first violence of her grief she would take the irrevocable vows which would hide the most brilliant woman of Italy in the recesses of a cloister. To prevent this, an intimate friend of Vittoria's, the learned Bishop of Carpentras, obtained from Pope Clement VII. a brief, addressed to the abbess and nuns of San Silvestro, recommending to their tender care the Marchionessa di Pescara, but forbidding them, under pain of excommunication, to permit her to take the veil.

She remained a year in this retreat, from which she was taken to Marino by her brother Ascanio, then in arms against the pope. The excesses committed in Rome by the Colonnas as partisans of the emperor, led to a papal decree depriving Cardinal Colonna of his hat, and confiscating the immense estates of this turbulent family. These scenes of violence must have been painful to Vittoria in their broad contrast to the peaceful retirement of the convent, where she had been alone with her sorrow and its memories. Bidding farewell to Castle Gondolfo, now alienated from her family, she once more returned to Ischia, which offered to her a refuge, as much needed by the beautiful young widow as by the child whose early years it had protected.

Fearful was the storm that swept over the eternal city and its environs that memorable year. For ten days the soldiers of the imperial army carried carnage and rapine through the streets of Rome. Churches, palaces, convents, private dwellings, and tombs were alike entered and ransacked. Priests and prelates were put to death amid terrible tortures; neither rank, sex, or age escaped the devouring fury of the invaders. Ten millions of gold crowns were obtained by these bloody, daring hands, and nearly eight thousand victims breathed in vain their dying cries of agony.

Vittoria, though safe in her island home, could not have been insensible to the dispersion of beloved friends and the desolation of familiar places. Her life was strangely tranquil in the wild tumult of that sixteenth century. She seemed to possess her soul in quietness, unhurt by the roar of elemental warfare. Her career

as a poetess now began. Her works consist almost entirely of sonnets; and the following, written probably at the time of her return to Ischia in this memorable 1527, may well be introduced here. It has been well translated, as have been the other sonnets we will quote to illustrate the tone and temper of her mind, by Mr. T. Adolphus Trollope, to whose interesting memoir we owe many of the details here presented:

"On what smooth seas, on what clear waves did sail  
My fresh careened bark! What costly freight  
Of noble merchandise adorned its state!  
How pure the breeze, how favoring the gale!  
And heaven, which now its beauteous rays doth veil,  
Shone then serene and shadowless. But fate  
For the too happy voyager lies in wait.  
Oft fair beginnings in their endings fail.  
And now doth impious, changeful fortune bare  
Her angry, ruthless brow, whose threatening power  
Rouses the tempest and lets loose its war!  
But though rains, winds, and lightnings fill the air,  
And wild beasts seek to rend me and devour,  
Still shines o'er my true soul its faithful star."

The sonnets have been divided by Visconti, the editor of her works, into two portions; the first consisting of one hundred and seventeen sonnets to the memory of her husband, and forming, as Mr. Trollope observes, "a nearly uninterrupted series 'In Memoriam,' in which the changes are rung with infinite ingenuity on a very limited number of ideas, all turning on the glory and high qualities of him whom she had lost, and her own undiminished and hopeless misery."

We cannot entirely assent to the conclusion to which her biographer arrives, that these "grief cries," elaborately written and carefully polished, circulated and eagerly sought after, reviewed, discussed, and admired by cardinals, poets, statesmen, and men of letters, could not be very genuine utterances of a broken heart.

"She was probably," he says, "about as much in earnest as was her great model and master, Petrarch, in his adoration of Laura. And this assumption of a mighty, undying, exalted, and hopeless passion was a necessary part of the poet's professional appurtenances. Where could a young and beautiful widow of unblemished conduct, who had no intention of changing her condition, and no desire to risk misconstruction by the world, find this needful part of her outfit so unobjectionably as in the memory of her husband, sanctified and exalted by the imagination to the point proper for the purpose."

We think there was more than this in these plaintive effusions.

Vittoria's heart, "like a precious gem too delicate to bear more than one engraving," ever bore the image so early traced there. Princes and nobles pressed their suit, but her heart never vibrated again to the touch of earthly love.

The attachment begun in childhood, and deepened in the happy hours of a youth in which studies and pleasures alike were shared together, never lost its early romance. The soldier's visits, "like those of angels," few and far between, were eagerly anticipated, thankfully enjoyed, and fondly remembered. His last three years on earth were spent away from her, and she was denied the blessing of farewell words of love and tenderness. "We write from the memory of love, not from its presence," and we cannot wonder that an affection, whose bonds had been strengthened by separation, should find expression in the sorrowful strains of the gifted poetess. The careful elegance, the elaborate polish, is owing to the fashion of the time. Her poetry felt the form and pressure of the day, and was modeled after the most approved type.

This noble theme, the history of a great sorrow, from its first benumbing power, through all its phases, throwing its huge shadow over all of life, linking itself with all familiar things, translating all utterances into its own peculiar tongue, and then as its lessons are duly learned, its ministry of blessedness recognized, the upward glance to the heavens "rich with goodness from the earth," the pervading presence of things unseen, the unavailing to the eye of faith of the spirit-world—all this awaited the kindling touch of a poet of the nineteenth century. Save in the lamentations of David over Jonathan, when the love passing the love of women chanted for all coming time strains of wonderful beauty and power, grief was dumb till Tennyson gave it voice. He made sorrow a familiar friend, and shrunk not from her gracious presence, bending his ear to her faintest whisper, learning of her a divine philosophy, and traveling with her to the serene heights bathed in the light of a heavenly radiance. Where can we find stanzas breathing such melancholy music, painting a scene of such vivid reality, and embalming in such felicitous words some of the profoundest feelings of the human heart.

"Break, break, break  
On thy cold gray stones, O sea!  
And I would that my tongue could utter  
The thoughts that arise in me.

"O well for the fisherman's boy  
That he shouts with his sister at play!  
O well for the sailor lad,  
That he sings in his boat on the bay!

"And the stately ships go on  
To their haven under the hill,  
But O for the touch of a vanished hand,  
And the sound of a voice that is still.

"Break, break, break  
At the foot of thy crags, O sea!  
But the tender grace of a day that's dead  
Will never come back to me."

What genuine utterances are the following, not to be mistaken by those who have felt those irrepressible longings for communion with the loved, not lost, but gone before :

"I watch thee from the quiet shore ;  
Thy spirit up to mine can reach,  
But in dear words of human speech  
We two communicate no more."

"Ah dear, but come thou back to me ;  
Whatever change the years have wrought,  
I find not yet one lonely thought  
That cries against my wish for thee."

And this the conviction of so many sorrowing hearts :

"This truth came home with bier and pall,  
I felt it when I sorrowed most,  
'Tis better to have loved and lost  
Than never to have loved at all.

"But I remained, whose hopes were dim,  
Whose life, whose thoughts were little worth,  
To wander on a darkened earth  
Where all things round me breathed of him."

What pure, undying affection, overleaping the bounds of time and space, bringing the far off near, parting the thin veil that binds the invisible, and triumphing in its own immortality, is depicted in the following lines :

"Dear friend, far off, my lost desire,  
So far, so near, in woe and weal ;  
O loved the most, when most I feel  
There is a lower and a higher."

"Known and unknown, human, divine !  
Sweet human hand and lips and eye,  
Dear heavenly friend that canst not die,  
Mine, mine, forever, ever mine !

"Thy voice is on the rolling air ;  
I hear thee when the waters run,  
Thou standest in the rising sun,  
And in the setting thou art fair.

"Far off thou art, but ever nigh,  
I have thee still, and I rejoice ;  
I prosper, circled with thy voice ;  
I shall not lose thee, though I die."

There are no passages of such deep pathos, of such holy triumph, in Vittoria's "In Memoriam." In the following sonnet she commemorates her husband's warlike deeds :

"To thy great victories, my eternal light,  
Nor time, nor seasons, lent their favoring aid ;  
Thy sword, thy might, thy courage undismayed,  
Summer and winter served thy will aright.  
By thy wise governance and eagle sight,  
Thou didst so rout the foe with headlong speed,  
The manner of the doing crowned the deed,  
No less than did the deed display thy might.  
Mountains and streams, and haughty souls in vain  
Would check thy course. By force of courtesy  
Or valor vanquished, cities of name were won.  
Earth's highest honors did thy worth attain ;  
Now truer triumphs Heaven reserves for thee,  
And nobler garlands do thy temples crown."

The pestilence which, treading on the heels of war, had made its appearance in Naples in 1590, found its way to Ischia, dispersing the literary society that had sought refuge there, and Vittoria visited Rome. The citizens of the pontifical city, who had been scattered by war and pestilence, had returned to their homes, and life was re-assuming its wonted aspects. Pope Clement, restored to his dominions, had pardoned the Colonnas, and bestowed upon them their confiscated estates. Vittoria was a welcome guest in the house of her brother Ascanio, to whose beautiful and accomplished wife, Donna Giovanna d'Aragona, she was much attached. The Marchese del Vaste, her beloved pupil, was then in Rome, and in his company, and that of some of the poets, statesmen, and artists who surrounded Vittoria, these attractive sisters visited the remains of Ancient Rome. It was a brilliant party, and as they wandered amid scenes that took them back to hoary antiquity, as they stood on the Palatine Hill amid the ruins of its palaces, gazed on the grand old Coliseum, or rebuilt and repeopled the Forum, aided by its suggestive pillars and porticoes, doubtless words were uttered well worth recording, had there been an Italian Boswell in this group of the sixteenth century literati. We have, however, but one exclamation of Vittoria's, and on that four sonnets were written by the poet Molza: "Ah, happy they," said she of the ancients, "who lived in days so full of beauty."



It was upon this occasion that a third medal was struck in honor of Vittoria. Two, still extant, were struck at Milan shortly before her husband's death; her face in profile is exceedingly beautiful. The bust of Pescara is on the obverse of one, and a military trophy on the reverse of the other. A fourth one was struck in 1538—her features much changed though still regular and well formed, a head-dress of plaited linen covering the head, with long pendants falling over the shoulder. On the obverse is a phoenix gazing on the sun, while the flames of her funeral pile are rising around her.

In Mr. Harford's book there is a copy of the first of these medals, and also a portrait from the pencil of Sebastian del Piombo. In both of these too great fullness in the lower part of the face takes from its delicacy and beauty. These medals are proofs of the estimation in which the Marchioness of Pescara was held by her countrymen. They delighted to do her honor; her poetical judgments were pronounced by the elegant Bembo to be as "authoritative as that of the greatest masters of the art of song;" poets made her the subject of their verse, distinguished writers dedicated to her their books, and a poetical bishop declared that "the ancient glory of Tuscany had altogether passed into Latium in her person." Her visit to Rome in 1536 was a continued ovation, and the Casa di Colonna was at that time honored by the presence of Charles V., who there visited the Marchioness de Pescara and her sister-in-law.

Her wealth, position, influence, and fame were insufficient to satisfy the longings of the immortal soul, and Vittoria soon found herself in sympathy with the new opinions that were stirring the mind of Europe to its depths. The doctrines of the great German reformer were penetrating the breasts of Italian ecclesiastics, and Italian pulpits gave out new and startling utterances. Crowds were attracted to the church of San Giovanni in Naples during Lent in 1536 by the eloquence of Bernardino Ochino, the celebrated Capuchin friar, who drew from Charles V. the exclamation: "This man preaches with a spirit and a devotion to make the very stones weep."

In this rapt and earnest crowd Vittoria Colonna was constantly to be found, and the impression made by the forcible way in which the devout Ochino presented the doctrine of justification by faith was deepened in the private meetings held in her own house, and in that of Julia Gonzago, Duchess of Trajetto. Minds of no ordinary stamp were there gathered to discuss matters of the deepest importance, to imbibe principles that were to be tested in exile and martyrdom. Valdez, the center of this distinguished circle, a

Spaniard by birth, of high family, great learning, fine intellect, gentlemanly, accomplished, and winning, must have given, by his rare powers of conversation, a deep interest to these meetings. Knighted for his military services by the emperor, he had been sent on missions to Germany, where he had become a convert to the opinions of Luther. Deeply affected with these views, he communicated them with power to other minds. Marco Flaminio, the celebrated modern Latin poet, who won all hearts, not only by his genius, but by his amiability and sweetness, here found an inspiration more ennobling than that of the Muses. He was led to a devout study of the Holy Scriptures, and his writings from that time, in their devotional tone as well as in doctrine and sentiment, accord with those of the Reformers of the day. Here too was the eminent divine, Peter Martyr, who was subsequently appointed professor of divinity at Oxford in the reign of Edward VI., his acute and penetrating intellect shedding light on these parlor conversations while in the church of San Lorenzo he was giving learned lectures on the Epistles of St. Paul to congregations wherein were to be found many of the nobility, bishops, and monks from the different convents.

In this interesting circle, earnestly listening to conversation that had such new and strange power to move the hearts of men, was the young Marquis of Vico, a Neapolitan nobleman of the highest rank. Nearly related to Cardinal Caraffa, afterward Paul IV., the son-in-law of the Duke of Nocera, distinguished by marks of favor from Charles V., accustomed from childhood to the splendor and luxury attendant on his rank and fortune, for, like the young ruler, he had great possessions, he was willing to leave all to follow Christ. He devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures, he sought the society of pious men, he tried to do good by his example and influence. For ten years he pursued this life amid the opposition of his father, his wife, and his friends. At length he resolved openly to avow his Protestant principles, and as imprisonment and death would be the result of such an avowal in Italy, he gave up home, family, and fortune, and at the age of thirty-four became an exile from his country. He went to Geneva, where he joined the Reformed Church, laid aside his title, and lived a quiet, unobtrusive life, honored by Calvin and by all who knew him. Unremitting efforts were made by his father and by his wife and children to induce him to renounce his faith and to return to them. He was induced to meet them at the Castle of Vico, where his family welcomed with fond endearments the husband and the father. But his faith was unshaken. His wife told him that she would never

receive him as her husband if he continued a heretic; and his father, after exhausting his arts of persuasion, heaped maledictions on his head as he left forever the paternal home.

Vittoria Colonna was not without her influence in this circle; the elegant hostess, dignified yet gentle—all felt the charms of her winning demeanor and her cultivated intellect. There have been honorable women, not a few, who have, at divers times and in sundry places, made their houses centers of religious influence, and thus consecrated them in the memory of the religious world. Madame Guyon and her noble friends, the Duchess of Beauvilliers and the Duchess of Chureuse, Lady Huntingdon, the Duchess of Broglie, Lady Maxwell, and others, are thus held in continual remembrance. The Duchess of Ferrara, the wife of Duke Hercules, better known as Renée of France, may be ranked among these devout women, and her court became a favorite resort not only for men of letters, but for those who were seeking an earnest religious life. The Marchioness of Pescara was naturally attracted thither, and she was welcomed with the most unbounded demonstrations of joy by men of rank and literary celebrity. It was during this visit to Ferrara in 1537 that she entertained the project of visiting the Holy Land, from which she was dissuaded by her adopted son, the Marchese di Vasto.

Here, too, the Cardinals Pole and Contarini, men of profound learning and deep piety, cultivated her friendship. How improving and profitable was the society in which Vittoria passed the later years of her life we may learn from the subjoined letter, written to Contarini by Pole in 1541, from Viterbo where Vittoria then resided:

"The rest of the day I usually spend in the holy and improving society of Signor Carnesecchi and one Marco Antonio Flaminio. Improving, I term it, because in the evenings Marco Antonio feeds me and the greater part of the family with that food which perishes not, so that I scarcely know when I have received greater comfort or edification; and all that I feel to be wanting to make our party complete is the presence of your eminence, which would render our present condition a sort of paradise here below; but there is sure to be a drawback on everything in this world, and your absence causes it."

Carnesecchi, who had been honored by the pope by important posts, after a long and cruel imprisonment, in which he remained steadfast to the Protestant principles he had embraced, was beheaded by order of the Inquisition, and his body burned at the stake in 1567. Cardinal Contarini, on his deathbed, avowed to Ochino his belief in the doctrine of justification by faith.

Pole adopted a more timid policy. Satisfied with a secret belief of the truth, he did not openly avow opinions which might lead him to the stake; and his memory has been darkened by the deeds of his later years, when, as legate of England, he allowed himself,

contrary to his own judgment and feelings, to take part in the persecutions of the bloody reign of Queen Mary. His life and character were unblemished at the time Vittoria Colonna was under his spiritual direction at Viterbo, and it was probably owing to his influence that she and the poet Flaminio still remained in the communion of the Catholic Church, in sympathy as they were with the more heroic spirits who had boldly avowed the principles that had led them to exile or martyrdom. It was by his advice that Vittoria sent a letter written to her by Ochino, and explaining the reasons of his secession, to Cardinal Cervini, afterward Pope Marcellus II. A letter from the eloquent preacher to whose burning words she had formerly so earnestly listened, from the friend with whom she had enjoyed such sweet communion, from the exile, was thus coolly placed in the hands of his enemies.

Vittoria, though she remained in the Catholic Church, has left in the second series of her poems, entitled "*Rime Spirituale*," sufficient evidence of her reception of the clear light of Protestant truth. To the grace and delicacy that characterized her former sonnets, she now adds the force and earnestness resulting from a higher Christian life, the inspiration of a nobler theme. She thus marks the change:

"Since a chaste love my soul has long detained  
In fond idolatry of earthly fame,  
Now to the Lord, who only can supply  
The remedy, I turn"—

"Me it becomes not, henceforth, to invoke  
Or Delos, or Parnassus; other springs,  
Far other mountain tops, I now frequent,  
Where human steps, unaided, cannot mount."

Mr. Harford gives the translation of the twenty-eighth sonnet, written in a strain of high devotional feeling:

"Deaf I would be to earthly sounds, to greet  
With thought intent, and fixed on things above,  
The high angelic strains, the accent sweet,  
In which true peace accords with perfect love;  
Each living instrument the breath that plays  
Upon its strings, from chord to chord, conveys,  
And to one end, so perfectly they move,  
That nothing jars th' eternal harmony;  
Love melts each voice, love lifts its accents high,  
Love beats the time, presides o'er every string,  
Th' angelic orchestra one signal sways;  
The sound becomes more sweet, the more it strays  
Through varying changes, in harmonious maze;  
He who the song inspired prompts all who sing."

Mr. Trollope has given good translations of several of these beautiful sonnets. The following prayer for faith is one in which every pious heart can join:

"Grant to my heart a pure fresh ray, O Lord,  
Of that bright ardent faith, which makes thy will  
Its best-loved law, and seeks it to fulfill  
For love alone, not looking for reward;  
That faith which deems no ill can come from thee,  
But humbly trusts that rightly understood,  
All that meets eye or ear is fair and good,  
And heaven's love oft in prayers refused can see;  
And if thy handmaid might prefer a suit,  
I would that faith possess that fires the heart,  
And feeds the soul with the true light alone;  
I mean hereby that mighty power in part,  
Which plants and strengthens in us the deep root,  
From which all fruits of love for him are grown."

"Here we have," says Mr. Trollope in commenting upon the following sonnet, "the doctrine of sudden and instantaneous conversion and sanctification, and that without any aid from sacrament, altar, or priest."

"When by the light whose living ray both peace  
And joy to faithful bosoms doth impart,  
The indurated ice, around the heart  
So often gathered, is dissolved through grace,  
Beneath that blessed radiance from above  
Falls from the dark mantle of my sin;  
Sudden I stand forth pure and radiant in  
The garb of primal innocence and love.  
And though I strive with lock and trusty key  
To keep that ray, so subtle 'tis and coy,  
By one low thought 'tis scared and put to flight.  
So flies it from me. I in sorrowing plight  
Remain and pray that He from base alloy  
May purge me, so the light come sooner back to me."

The following lines her biographer quotes as containing "a very remarkable bit of heresy on the vital point of the confessional:"

"Confiding in His just and gentle sway  
We should not dare, like Adam and his wife,  
On others' backs our proper blame to lay;  
But with new-kindled hope and unfeigned grief,  
*Passing by priestly robes, lay bare within*  
*To Him alone the secret of our sin."*

The following sonnet has a gentle, serene sweetness which at once finds its way to the heart:

" Ofttimes to God through frost and cloud I go  
 For light and warmth to break my icy chain,  
 And pierce and rend my vail of doubt in twain  
 With his divinest love and radiant glow.  
 And if my soul sit cold and dark below,  
 Yet all her longings fixed on heaven remain,  
 And seems she 'mid deep silence to a strain  
 To listen, which the soul alone can know—  
 Saying, Fear naught! for Jesus came on earth,  
 Jesus, of endless joys the wide deep sea,  
 To ease each heavy load of mortal birth.  
 His waters ever cleanest, sweetest be  
 To him who in a lonely bark drifts forth  
 On his great deeps of goodness trustfully."

The sonnet with which we will conclude our quotations is written on the anniversary of the Saviour's crucifixion, and is translated by Mr. Trollope as "certainly one of the best if not the best in the collection." It is chosen from its own merit; not selected, as the previous extracts have been, to prove the Protestantism of Vittoria, to show that, though she lived and died in the Catholic Church, she strongly sympathized with Protestant principles:

" The angels to eternal bliss preferred,  
 Long on this day a painful death to die,  
 Lest in the heavenly mansions of the sky  
 The servant be more favored than his Lord.  
 Man's ancient mother weeps the deed this day,  
 That shut the gates of heaven against her race,  
 Weeps the two pierced hands whose work of grace  
 Refinds the path from which she made man stray.  
 The sun his ever-burning ray doth veil;  
 Earth and sky tremble, ocean quakes amain,  
 And mountains gape, and living rocks are torn,  
 The fiends, on watch for human evil, wail  
 The added weight of their restraining chain.  
 Man only weeps not, yet was weeping born."

One of the most memorable facts in the life of Vittoria is her ten years' friendship with Michael Angelo. She was in her forty-seventh and he in his sixty-third year when they met in Rome, in 1537, and the friendship, which lasted through the remainder of Vittoria's life, exercised a powerful influence on the mind and heart of one of the greatest men of all time—great as a sculptor, painter, architect, and poet, worthy of the four wreaths instead of the three that his countrymen had sculptured on his tomb.

The attachment that existed between them has been well called a "sacred affection," so pure and elevated was its nature, and so free



from earthly alloy. In the five sonnets he addressed to her he expresses his admiration of her noble qualities; but he only alludes to her personal attractions after her eyes were closed in death, and he gratefully acknowledges her benignant influence in leading him to a clearer apprehension of Christian truth, and a more heartfelt recognition of its claims. The change in his views is as apparent in his poetry as in her own. Honored and blessed as Vittoria had been in the friends who had enriched her life, this friendship is its crowning glory, and instead of her former saying concerning the ancients, "Ah, happy they who lived in days so full of beauty!" she might well have thanked God with Raphael "that she lived in the days of Michael Angelo."

Five letters written by Vittoria to her distinguished friend are now in the possession of the accomplished head of the Buonarroti family. Written with perfect ease, in a clear, distinct hand, there is no approach to a sentiment any deeper than that of friendship.

How simply the kingly old man turned from the mighty works that made his name immortal on the earth, to the great sacrifice that gave him a blissful immortality in the heavens, may be seen in the beautiful sonnet written in his eighty-third year to Vasari, of which Mr. Harford gives the following translation:

"Time my frail bark o'er a rough ocean guides  
Swift to that port where all must touch that live,  
And of their actions good or evil give  
A strict account, where Truth supreme presides.  
As to gay Fancy in which Art confides,  
And even her Idol and her monarch makes,  
Full well I know how largely it partakes  
Of error; but frail man in error prides;  
My thoughts, once prompt round hurtful things to twine,  
Where are they now, when two dread Deaths are near?  
The one impends, the other shakes his spear.  
Painting and Sculpture's aid in vain I crave;  
My one sole refuge is that Love divine  
Which from the Cross stretched forth its arms to save."

In 1541 Vittoria left Rome to seek a more retired home, and to escape from scenes of turbulence and violence. Her brother Ascanio had taken up arms in opposition to a salt-tax imposed by Paul III., who raised ten thousand men, subdued the fiery Colonna, and razed his fortresses to the ground.

The death of the Marchese del Vasto, her adopted son and her husband's heir, saddened the last years of her life, which were spent in retirement from the world in the convent of Viterbo. Here she

spent her time most usefully in directing the education of its youthful inmates.

In 1546 she went to the convent of Sant' Anna in Rome, and on being seized with her last illness the following year she was removed to the palace of Giuliano Cesarini, the husband of Giulia Colonna, her only relative in the city. She died at the age of fifty-seven, attended in her last moments by her faithful friend Michael Angelo, who afterward said that he had never ceased regretting that in that solemn hour he had not imprinted a kiss on the marble forehead of the dead.

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#### ART. VI.—WESLEY AS A MAN OF LITERATURE.

##### [FOURTH ARTICLE.]

ANOTHER bishop now comes out to the attack, Bishop Warburton, and Mr. Wesley publishes "A Letter to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Gloucester, occasioned by his tract on the Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit." First, he examines what the bishop says concerning himself, and said he was "reciting objections which had been urged and answered a hundred times. But as your lordship is pleased to repeat them again, I am obliged to repeat the answers." Secondly, he tries what the bishop says of the office and operations of the Holy Spirit, and proves that his own belief and writings are in unison with Bishop Pearson, the Prayer-book, the Homilies, and the Scriptures. A good deal of the reply is extracted from his former answers to the same points; but the whole is a close piece of argumentation, and a complete refutation of the bishop. So thought Mr. Wesley himself, for he says: "If Dr. Erskine cannot see that I have answered Bishop Warburton plainly and directly, and so untwisted his arguments that no man living will be able to piece them together, I believe all unprejudiced men can, and are thoroughly convinced of it." (Remarks on a Defense of Aspasio vindicated.) He did not expect a reply from the bishop. "I have answered the bishop, and had advice upon my answer. If the devil owes him a shame he will reply. He is a man of sense, but I verily think he does not understand Greek." (Letter to Charles Wesley, 1762.) The bishop was silent, and so acknowledged his defeat.

In 1771 he replied to an Irish clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Fleury, of Waterford, who at that late time of day had recapitulated some

old objection to the Methodists, and proved that he knew little of them or their writings. He urged that the lay preachers were intruders into the sacred office, and reminded his hearers of the earth opening and swallowing up Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Mr. Wesley turns boldly upon him his own words: "Such an intruder are you if you convert no sinners to God. Take heed, lest a deeper pit swallow you up!"

This reply appears to be the last of Mr. Wesley's formal answers to the current objections to the doctrines and practices of the Methodists. Incidental and occasional replies are to be found in nearly all his works, and were necessary, more or less, as long as he lived. But after the reply to Bishop Warburton, no very formidable attack was made by the clergy or the learned on the Methodists or their founder. Still, a squib or a gun would be occasionally fired. The names of a few poems of 1778-9 will show the spirit of the times. One is, "Perfection; a practical Epistle, *calmly* addressed to the greatest Hypocrite in England," that is, John Wesley. Another is, "Fanatical Conversation, or Methodism Displayed. A satire, illustrated and verified by notes from John Wesley's fanatical Journal." A third, "Voltaire's Ghost to the Apostle of the Sinless Foundery. A familiar Epistle from the Shades." A few tracts and sermons were also issued against the new sect. But Mr. Wesley, now an old man of seventy, did not trouble himself at any additional work of refutation.

Those who value the Methodist system and belief, ministry or laity, ought to consider not only what a founder was provided by Divine Providence, but what a *defender*. Rarely has the Church of God seen such a "Defender of the Faith." He was mighty in the use of Scripture, in his appeals to authority, in the calmness of his own spirit, and in his most dexterous use of the art of logic. In these four qualifications no opponent ever was his equal. His method invariably was to cast aside all the extraneous matter, to single out the important points of difference, and then, with all his might, (and usually a blow or two would be sufficient,) to attack each point separate and successfully. Had early Methodism such a defender as George Fox, it could never, humanly speaking, have stood the various and manifold attacks. The anti-Methodistic sermons, charges of bishops, tracts and pamphlets, books and poems, during Mr. Wesley's life are to be numbered by scores and hundreds. William Hogarth even published a painting and engraving to assist the destruction of the sect, and which he called "Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism; being a satire on Methodism," 1762. Thus did this great master of caricature ill use his

fine talents! Samuel Foote, the actor, wrote a play to ridicule and slander the poor Methodists, called the "Minor, a comedy," 1760. The next year came out "The Methodists, a comedy, being a continuation and completion of the plan of the Minor, with the original prologue and epilogue," by Israel Pottinger. In 1764 the "Hypocrite, a comedy as it was performed at the Theater Royal, Drury Lane," was published. Thus the pulpit, the press, the art of painting, and the stage, were all in use against the work of God by the instrumentality of the Wesleys and Whitefield.

5. We must now pass on to another path in Wesley's controversial life, namely, his defense of the *Moravian Church*. In 1765 came out "Remarks on the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's last Journal, wherein he gives an account of the Tenets and Proceedings of the Moravians, and the Divisions and Perplexities of the Methodists, by the Rev. Thomas Church, M. A." This clergyman is highly spoken of as "a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian." (Answer to Rowland Hill.) He was a minister of St. Ann's Church, in Westminster, and seems to have been annoyed by Mr. Wesley's (1) commending the Moravians so highly in his Journals; (2) holding principles in common with them, from which various enormities necessarily followed; (3) maintaining other errors more than theirs, involving enthusiasm to the highest degree. The answer allowed that the Moravians were "tainted with Quietism, Universal Salvation, and Antinomian opinions;" but he yet believed them "in the main some of the best Christians in the world," and desired "union with them (were the stumbling blocks once put away) above all things under heaven." Mr. Church in reply issued a second letter to Mr. Wesley, who published "The Principles of a Methodist farther explained." The reply goes on with the defense of the Moravians, who held generally to the principles of the Methodists. He also defends many of his own remarks, opinions, and accounts, given in the Journals. Church was a tedious disputer, and wanted the repyer to follow him page after page, and paragraph after paragraph. He would do no such thing, but passing by all the mere verbiage and easily assailable parts, he seized hold of the strong points and dealt with them as they needed. The two answers to Mr. Church may be viewed as an act of friendship to the Moravian brethren, who had been so useful to himself when in the dark seeking justification before God.

6. Another topic of controversy was the doctrine of *Original Sin*, and with the Rev. John Taylor, a Unitarian minister of Norwich, a man of great talents, who by his preaching and writings made many disciples. Mr. Wesley, in reply, set forth the "Doctrine of

Original Sin, according to Scripture, Reason, and Experience." The book is divided into seven parts: (1.) He shows the past and present ignorant and sinful state of mankind; and the picture is drawn by a masterly hand. (2.) The scriptural method for accounting for this is defended. In this part is a valuable exposition of numerous texts, showing the Unitarian and true meanings, one being set against the other in a convenient and scholarly method. (3.) This part is a reply to Dr. Taylor's arguments against the true doctrine. A large variety of objections is replied to in Mr. Wesley's usual concise, clear, and energetic manner. (4.) Here are inserted extracts from the writings of Dr. Watts on the doctrine of original sin. (5, 6.) These parts contain extracts from the writings of the Rev. Samuel Hebden against Dr. Taylor. (7.) Another extract, from Mr. Boston's "Fourfold State of Man." The book then is only half original, the other half being taken from other authors. The extracts make the work more valuable. The book is so well written and compiled that no other has supplanted it, and the Methodist ministry is as likely to use it hereafter as in times past. Dr. Taylor never answered it.

7. Another point to which the polemical literature of our founder reached was the *mystic divinity* of some German and English authors, particularly Jacob Behmen and Mr. Law. He gave his thoughts upon the German mystic, and "a specimen of the divinity and philosophy of the (so-called) highly illuminated" writer. The specimen is the Lord's Prayer, which is commonly explained by the words; but Behmen gave a meaning to every syllable, and even to some of the letters. To read such an author was a waste of time, and "enough to crack any man's brains." Law was a translator and disciple of Behmen, and assisted in introducing German mysticism into England. Mr. Wesley wrote him a long letter in 1756, but no conviction of error followed. One of Mr. Law's curious notions was that angels have each a twofold sex, and that Adam "was both male and female in one person," as an angel. If God had not "divided human nature into a male and female creature," then the "man would have brought forth his own likeness out of himself in the same manner as he had a birth from God." The mystic divinity of Mr. Law does not preserve his name, which is preserved, however, by his rational divinity, as set forth in the "Serious Call to a Devout Life," a treatise "which will hardly be excelled, if it be equaled, in the English tongue, either for beauty of expression or for justness and depth of thought." (Sermon on a Single Eye.)

8. The *Roman Catholic* controversy could hardly escape the attention, or fail to enlist the talents, of a preacher who traveled so

often the Irish seas and the Irish shires. In 1749 he published a "Letter to a Roman Catholic." He calls the Catholic "brother," and endeavors "to remove in some measure the ground of his unkindness" to Protestants by "plainly declaring what our belief and what our practice is." Says he: "Let the points wherein we differ stand aside. Here are enough wherein we agree" to unite Protestants and Catholics together. Finally, he says: "I hope to meet you in heaven." The letter is written in a most lovely spirit, and exemplifies the charity so beautifully set forth in the sermon on a Catholic Spirit. Some time after he composed a "Roman Catechism, faithfully drawn out of the allowed writings of the Church of Rome, with a reply thereto." It was occasioned by a "frequent complaint among some of the Roman Church that the Protestants had misrepresented the doctrines of their Church," and is an excellent compendium of the points of difference, with short and clear refutations. The conversion of the Irish Catholics has long engaged and still engages the interest of many Protestants. Mr. Wesley issued a plan in order to secure the coveted object, and called it a "Short Method of converting all the Roman Catholics in the Kingdom of Ireland, humbly proposed to the Bishops and Clergy of that Kingdom." There was a grand difficulty in the way, namely, the "strong attachment of the papists to their clergy." Only one set of clergy ever excelled their own, which was the apostles. Let then all the Protestant clergy live like the apostles, and preach like the apostles, and the Roman Catholics, seeing the superiority of the Protestant clergy to their own priests, will gradually prefer them, and transfer their affection to them. Having secured the preference and love of the Roman Catholics, the clergy will find no very hard work in convincing them of their errors by hundreds and thousands, until there will not be a "Roman left in the kingdom of Ireland." The tract of the "short method," to the Protestant clergy, is as cutting a sarcasm as could well be produced. Another of his writings on the Romish question is entitled the "Advantage of the Members of the Church of England over those of the Church of Rome," seeing the former have the use of the Scriptures, doctrines more agreeable to the Scriptures, and a more spiritual worship. Another is called "Popery calmly Considered," showing the tendency of some of the doctrines, namely, to hinder the love of God, the love of our neighbor, the practice of justice and mercy, and the preservation of truth in the earth. In 1780, Parliament having passed an act favorable to the English Roman Catholics, he wrote three letters to newspapers, setting forth his opinion that while there should be no persecution for religion, no encouragement or trust should be given by a Protestant government to those who



held the doctrine that no faith was to be kept with heretics. A Capuchin friar, Mr. O'Leary, replied to the letters. Mr. Wesley answered the friar, still upholding his two principles: First, that no Protestant government should persecute; and secondly, that no such government should trust Roman Catholics.

9. Another point of controversy was that of *dissent* from the Church of England. He was as much opposed by Dissenting ministers as by those of the Established Church. With all the faults belonging to the Church, he vastly preferred it to the meeting-house. In 1753 a Rev. Mr. Toogood, of Exeter, published his "Dissent from the Church of England fully justified," and went so far as to assert that a person could not belong to Christ and to the Church of England. Mr. Wesley replied, insisting that no sinful terms of communion were imposed upon the members; that the rites and ceremonies of the Church, though capable of improvement, contravened no command of the Scriptures; and that while he greatly admired many of the Puritans and Nonconformists, he could not approve of their separation from the national Church. His position was, that nothing will justify separation from a Church but some requirement or practice that is sinful. If nothing else will justify, then many separations from Protestant bodies can never be justified. The question is yet not answered, Will other considerations less than sinful terms of communion justify a person—a Methodist, a Presbyterian, a Lutheran, an Episcopalian—in separating from one Church and uniting with another? An irrefutable treatise on the subject might be very useful in the confused and factioned Protestant body.

10. The *Quakers* were not passed unnoticed in Mr. Wesley's numerous travels in England and Ireland. He often speaks approvingly of the Quakers, yet severely of Quakerism. "I should as soon commence Deist as Quaker." (Letter to Mr. John Smith.) As for their mode of worship, he says: "A silent meeting was never heard of in the Church for sixteen hundred years." (Letter to Miss Mary Stokes.) But the only writing against the system of George Fox, Robert Barclay, and William Penn, is "A Letter to a Person lately (1743) joined with the people called Quakers, in Answer to a Letter wrote by him," and is in answer to the question, "Is there any difference between Quakerism and Christianity?"

11. Having touched the Quakers a little, it cannot be expected that our founder would neglect our *Baptist* brethren. Mr. Wesley wrote but one treatise on baptism. He shows, first, what baptism is. Secondly, what benefits we receive by it, namely: (1.) washing away the guilt of original sin; (2.) entering into covenant with God; (3.) admitted into the Church; (4.) made the children of God, by

"grace infused;" (5) and heirs of the kingdom of heaven. Thirdly, whether our Saviour designed it always to remain in his Church. Fourthly, who are the proper subjects. He contends that we are as justified in baptizing infants "without express command or clear example," as in baptizing women, for which there is neither in the Scripture.

X. We shall next look on him as his own historian or biographer. He narrated the chief events of his public life (and sometimes of his private) in the form of *JOURNALS*, extracts from which he published and gave to the world. Whoever wishes to know of the life of the first man called Methodist, and the rise and progress of the Methodist denomination, can search no better authority than these Journals. Mr. Wesley began to keep a diary when about twenty years old, and in pursuance of the advice of Bishop Jeremy Taylor in his *Rules for Holy Living and Dying*, "marking down (says he) how I had employed every hour." The practice he continued all through his long life.

Private diaries and journals of religious persons have usually so much of the quality of sameness as often to excite a degree of loathing. These Journals, however, cannot be charged with this fault. They are indeed full of variety. They relate, not the religious experience of the writer, which is very seldom touched upon, but the prominent events of his public life as a traveler, author, preacher. They show us what he did as a preacher of the Gospel, his journeys and voyages, the places he visited, the texts he preached from, the congregations he addressed, various letters he wrote and received, remarkable persons he came in contact with, revivals of religion he witnessed, strange accounts which came to his knowledge, books he read and his opinions of them, memoirs and obituaries of religious persons, various anecdotes, persecutions of himself and others, remarkable natural phenomena, fine descriptions of remarkable places and scenery, accounts of gentlemen's seats and various national antiquities, a sprinkling of poetical quotations from the classics; in a word, the Journals describe his own public life, and the civil, and especially the religious state of the British nation in the eighteenth century. The Journals may be denominated as an account of the life and times of John Wesley.

XI. Another path of literature in which he walked all the days of his life was *LETTER WRITING*, or the practice of a large epistolary correspondence. He believed that his religious correspondents were unequalled in number. Says he, "I have had for many years,

and have at this day, a greater number of pious correspondents than any person in England, or perhaps in Europe." (Pref. to *Arminian Mag.*, 1781.) So many persons sending him letters in those days of dear postage necessarily involved much expense. When in Athlone, in Ireland, in 1785, so many letters followed him that in one day the letters cost eighteen shillings. (Letter to Charles Wesley.) This incident (and the only one I find, of the sort) will give a general idea of the total expense of postage during the year. Those of his letters remaining and collected number above fourteen hundred, and form one and a half of the fourteen volumes of the works. A number may yet remain uncollected. But what are the remaining letters compared to the lost? The remaining private letters are useful especially in giving us a better insight into the private life and religious experience of our founder than can be found elsewhere. His other writings show him the public man, but do not give information of his private life, excepting an occasional touch in the Journals, and now and then a stroke in the other writings. All the biographies of Mr. Wesley are very deficient in portraying his private and domestic course; nor is this to be wondered at, considering the want of matter; but close inspection and diligence would have picked up many a scrap from the letters, which ingenious inference could have amplified into a paragraph, a section, or a chapter.

Of the extant letters, those to female correspondents evince the most care and thought. The persons corresponded with were mostly members of his own societies, and eminent for piety and sense. Like all men of learning, he was ever pleased with the society of sensible women, and equally pleased to correspond with them. One of his earliest correspondents was Miss Furley, who appears to have been a young lady of deep piety, but weak and sickly. Twenty-three letters to her are in the collection. Mrs. Sarah Ryan, whom he employed as his housekeeper in Bristol, was another of his correspondents, a woman remarkable for her lovely spirit and fervent piety: "A jewel indeed, one whose equal I have not found in England." (Letter to Miss Furley.) Her conversation and letters were, he says, "an unspeakable blessing to me." In her day she seems to have been looked upon as the brightest living example of the Christian perfection which the Wesleys taught. Lady Maxwell, a Scotch woman, was a correspondent of his for many years. Eighteen letters to her are remaining. In one of them he gives his opinion on the interesting subject of departed spirits:

"I have heard my mother say, 'I have frequently been as fully assured that my father's spirit was with me as if I had seen him with my eyes.' But she

did not explain herself any further. I have myself, many times, found on a sudden so lively an apprehension of a deceased friend, that I have sometimes turned about to look; at the same time I have felt an uncommon affection for them. But I never had anything of this kind with regard to any but those that died in faith. In dreams I have had exceedingly lively conversations with them, and I doubt not but they were then very near."

In the collection are nineteen letters to the pious and sensible Miss Bosanquet, afterward Mrs Fletcher, for whom he had great Christian esteem and affection. He spoke of her as "one of the most faithful friends I have in the world." Others' letters he let lie a week or two before he answered; but of hers he thought much of losing a day, "for fear I should give a moment's pain." Another of his female correspondents was a Miss Bishop, whose employment was educating young ladies. There are sixteen letters to her preserved. It appears that this young lady declined teaching dancing in her school, although solicited by some of the parents. Says Mr. Wesley to her:

"It seems God himself has already decided the question concerning dancing. He has shown his approbation of your conduct by sending those children to you again. If dancing be not evil in itself, yet it leads young women to numberless evils. And the hazard of these on the one side seems far to overbalance the little inconveniences on the other. Therefore, this much may certainly be said: you have chosen the more excellent way."

He does not altogether condemn novels to young persons, but would recommend "very few, for fear they should be too desirous of more." He recommends to her, for her scholars, the *Earl of Moreland*, and the *History of the Human Heart*, both fictions, by Mr. Brooke.

The letters are well worth perusal for their varied and excellent matter, and deserve to be held up as models for their lovely spirit, and concise, pure, and elegant style. The general labors and literary works of Mr. Wesley show the stern, strong, persevering character of his mind; but the letters draw the softer, fainter lines of his features, and reveal the amiability of his disposition, that he had the tenderness and sensibility of a woman, and the gentle and loving spirit that breathed in the Apostle John.

XII. But after all that may be said for the various classes of his literary works, that by which he is best known and will longest be remembered is his works on PRACTICAL DIVINITY. The principal works of this class are the *Address to the Clergy*, the *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, an *Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, a *Further Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, and the *Sermons*. There are other and smaller practical treatises or tracts, and there is more or less practical religion enforced in the controversial, political, and other works.

"An Address to the Clergy" was published in 1756. He sets out with declaring that no "forwardness, vanity, or presumption" urged him to address his brethren and fathers in the Church, but duty and love. He desires the clergy to consider: 1. What manner of men ought we to be, as to gifts, acquired endowments, and grace? 2. Are we such, or are we not? Under this head he makes as sharp and pointed an application as perhaps was possible. He considers men going into, or continuing in the office of the ministry for a living as worse than Simon Magus. "He offered to give money for the gift of God. . . . You set a far higher value on the money than on the gift; insomuch that you do not desire, you will not accept of the gift (the office) unless the money accompany it!" And closes this application with a fine apostrophe: "O Simon, Simon! what a saint wert thou compared to many of the most honorable men now in Christendom!"

"The Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as believed and taught by the Rev. John Wesley," is one of the most useful and the most circulated of all the separate treatises of the author. He first shows his own consistency, for the doctrine of perfection he "believed and taught" in 1777 was the same he entertained and preached in 1725, and all the interim period of his life. He shows also what the perfection is, namely, loving God with all our heart, and our neighbor as ourselves. The chief fault of the treatise is the repetitions, unavoidable by the nature of the design, requiring examples that his teaching was the same through so many years; not to be complained of, however, seeing a doctrine so strongly and constantly opposed may well be taught in the way of line upon line and precept upon precept. The account of that "burning and shining light," Jane Cooper, is a gem inserted in the work. The advices to the professors of Christian perfection, and the reflections suitable to them, show a knowledge of the deepness of the human heart and great profundity of thought. It is an excellent religious treatise, that can hardly be read without profit. Other works on the same subject have, and doubtless will come from the press with more or less merit and fault; but none have eclipsed, and probably none ever will eclipse, this fine old treatise on the heights and depths of practical divinity. Forty years was Mr. Wesley combating the enemies of the doctrine in the pulpit and by the press. What other author can have the advantage of a warfare so long and terrible? "I am at my wits' end," says he, "with regard to two things—the Church and Christian perfection. Unless you and I stand in the gap in good earnest, the Methodists will drop them both." (Letter to Charles, May 14, 1768.) "But what shall we do? I think it is high time that you and I should

come to a point. Shall we go on in asserting perfection against all the world? or shall we quietly let it drop? We really must do one or the other, and I apprehend the sooner the better." (*Ibid.* June 14.) The enemies of the doctrine were "all the world;" even the Methodists and the preachers were ready to drop the doctrine; Charles Wesley was sometimes but a half believer and a lukewarm preacher of it; and so the brunt of the conflict came upon one man. Had he withdrawn from the "gap," this treatise would be unwritten, and the doctrine dropped again, as after the days of primitive Christianity. But our founder was a man valiant for the truth. He stood out against all the world, and finally overcame.

The "Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion" was written in 1744, and excited a great deal of attention. The motto intimates the nature of the appeal: "Doth our law judge any man before it hear him and know what he doeth?" The new sect was in the greatest odium, and generally condemned and persecuted. The leader turns away from the ignorant, wicked, and prejudiced multitudes, and appeals to the reason and religion of the nation for judgment, like Paul at the council of Festus at Cesarea, when he cried, "I appeal unto Cesar!" In the first part of the appeal he speaks "chiefly to those who do not receive the Christian system as of God," as to whether the principles he taught were not reasonable. Next he says: "I would add a few words to another sort of men—to you who do receive the Christian system, who believe the Scripture, but yet do not take upon you the character of religious men." Are you men of reason? Believing in religion and yet irreligious, "you are the furthest of all men under the sun from any pretense to that character." He passes on to the honorable and virtuous, to the business men of the nation, who made no profession of piety. Then he comes to the religious man who has an outward but no inward godliness. As he passes, he convicts them all of being without happiness and without God. Lastly, he addresses the truly pious, and answers their objections to the new sect. (1.) That they preach perfection. (2.) They preach salvation by faith. (3.) They teach the knowledge of sins forgiven. (4.) They are Papists. (5.) They are undermining the Church. (6.) They leave the Church. (7.) They divide the Church. (8.) "Gain is the main-spring of all their actions." It was the answering the last objection which brought out the bold and singular challenge. Cries the appellant:

"Hear ye this, all ye who have discovered the treasures which I am to leave behind me: If I leave behind me ten pounds, (above my debts and my books, or what may happen to be due on account of them,) you and all mankind bear witness against me, that I lived and died a thief and a robber."



When he willed his property, he expected that at death he might have some money in his bureau drawer and in his pockets, but so little that he ordered it to be divided among four persons. He concludes the Appeal by declaring that religion was once more reviving in the land, and urges all to encourage it.

In the same year the first part of "A further Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion" was written. He considered he had not yet fully performed his duty, and that he ought to answer other objections. These related to the *doctrines* which he taught. In 1763 appeared a work called "The Notions of the Methodists fully disproved." The Archbishop of York had sent a circular to the clergy on the subject of the new teachings, and with the circular a pamphlet called "Observations on the Conduct and Behavior of a certain Sect usually distinguished by the name of Methodists," written, it was believed, by a dignitary of the Church. There was a tract then published called "The Operations of the Holy Spirit imperceptible; and how men may know when they are under the guidance and influence of the Spirit." The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in a charge delivered to his clergy and published, attacked some of the Methodists' points. The objections to the doctrines he taught, in these different publications, he answered in a masterly style. Next he replies to objections to the *manner* of teaching those doctrines, as field preaching, itinerating from place to place, and extemporary prayer. And lastly, he replies to objections on the *effects* of this preaching, as the public peace disturbed by such vast congregations, divisions created in private families, poor families starved or brought to beggary, and many driven out of their senses or made mad. He concludes that all these objections are "artifices of the devil to hinder the work of God."

The second and third parts of the Appeal were written in 1745. The second part is, "First, to point out some things which, on common principles, are condemned by men of every denomination, and yet found in all; and secondly, some wherein those of each denomination are more particularly inconsistent with their own principles." He shows what sins were condemned and yet practiced by the Jewish nation. How much are we better than they? Is not the English nation, as the Jewish, discontented and murmuring, forgetting the great God, and gone away from the ordinances of religion? Do not the people of this Christian nation swear and blaspheme? Is there any country so filled with willful, deliberate perjury, swearing and breaking oaths, as witnesses, justices, grand juries, constables, churchwardens, captains of ships, officers of the customs, members of parliament, voters? How is the Sabbath day profaned? What

murmurings and rebellings against civil rulers? "for do not all our histories witness such a series of mutinies, seditions, factions, rebellions, as are scarce to be paralleled in any one kingdom since the world began?" Is not drunkenness the sin of England? Is not the lewdness of the nation greater than the Jews? The injustice? And is not truth as well as justice fallen in our streets? And what nation so proud and self-conceited as the English? Do the judgments of God reform the nation? The army and the navy? Are not the priests, the Lord's ministers, guilty of some of these sins? All these heads he amplifies, and appeals to the hearts and consciences of the different classes, forming an earnest specimen of practical divinity. He then passes on to the Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Quakers, Roman Catholics, Jews, and Deists, showing how contrary their practices were to their principles and professions.

In part third, he from the preceding infers that the state of religion was so bad that there was no parallel to it. If there be a God, what must be the event? Instead, however, of judgment, God sent mercy. A revival of religion begins at Oxford, then in different parts of the nation. He then describes the qualities of this work of God, namely: the extent, the depth, the fruits, the rationality, the catholicity, the holiness, and the tolerating spirit of it; and such a work (although only seven years since it began) as "cannot easily be paralleled (in all these concurrent circumstances) by any thing that is found in the English annals since Christianity was first planted in this land." Yet the religious and wise men of the nation do not discern that God is reviving his work in the nation, and the wicked are persecuting the instruments. He then spends twenty-four pages in replying to some of the "abundance of excuses, if not for opposing, yet for denying the work to be of God, and for not acknowledging the time of our visitation." (1.) Some cry out, "the doctrines of these men are false, erroneous, and enthusiastic; that they are new and unheard of till late; that they are Quakerism, fanaticism, and Popery." (2.) Others allege, "Their doctrines are too strict; they make the way to heaven too narrow." (3.) Another popular cry is, "The uncharitableness of these men; they damn all besides themselves." (4.) "But many who own these doctrines to be of God cannot be reconciled to the instruments he hath made use of." They are so young. Not so very young, says Mr. Wesley, for "Mr. Whitefield is now above thirty, my brother is thirty-seven, and I have lived above forty-two years." (5.) "But they are only a few." No wonder, seeing the diligence and pains used to keep them few, and hinder the clergy from joining. (6.) "Not only few,

but unlearned." He acknowledges that some were, but not all; and retorts, that many so objecting were unlearned themselves. (7.) "You make yourselves like the apostles," (that is, the preachers.) Must not every minister be like the apostles in some respects? (8.) "But they are laymen who preach." He answers this objection fully, showing that the first preachers of Christianity were laymen; so were the first preachers of the Reformation; Mr. Calvin was a layman; the Roman Catholics allow a lay brother to preach if he believes he is called of God; most of the Protestant Churches allow lay preaching; and even the Church of England uses laymen in some of her services. He grounds his chief defense, however, on the necessity of the case. (9.) "But are they not wicked men?" No one heard of the wickedness of the preachers until they went about doing good. In answering this objection he speaks of himself and brother, asking:

"What persons could, in the nature of things, have been (antecedently) less liable to exception, with regard to their moral character, at least, than those the all-wise God hath now employed? Indeed, I cannot devise what manner of men could have been more unexceptionable on all accounts."

Although this self-laudation seems egotism and boasting, I think it the best proof of the singular innocence and simplicity of the writer any where to be found. For a person to believe and say that he was the most suitable or unexceptionable person "on all accounts," certainly has no appearance of humility, has the appearance of vanity, and yet truly shows a guileless, childlike heart. After all the bad appearance, he is merely defending God for choosing himself and brother and Mr. Whitefield. (10.) "But what need of preaching in fields and streets? Are there not churches enough to preach in?" (11.) Another objection was, the inconsistent conduct of some of the Methodists. (12.) "Why not work miracles to show that God hath sent you." (13.) True, many are turned from wickedness, but they fall into schism, a greater sin. Thus he proposes, and gives an answer to, the excuses which the men of "reason and religion" offered for not discovering the work to be of God. The appeal closes up with an earnest, faithful, and affectionate application to the despisers and neglecters of their day of visitation from God.

The appeals were useful books in their day, and were much read. The writer mentions a lawyer and a physician, infidels, converted by the reading. They may be regarded as Mr. Wesley's master-pieces for matter, reasoning, and style.

The published sermons of the founder of Methodism number one hundred and forty-one, and are on a great variety of topics. They

form his best writings on practical divinity. But as the present article has grown so large, and as the writer designs an article on Mr. Wesley's *preaching*, they will be reserved for the future occasion, when some observations on his *style* will also be appropriate.

1. The series of articles which is now concluded does not mention all the works of Mr. Wesley. Besides those classes of original and selected works—works of Music and Poetry, religious Tracts, the edited works, (comprising the Christian Library,) the various compilations (including the Arminian Magazine,) the elementary books, the Commentaries on the Old and New Testament, the political tracts and pamphlets, the numerous works on controversial divinity, on eleven disputed points, (at least,) the Journals, the epistolary correspondence, and the excellent writings on practical divinity—another class of tracts and papers could be reviewed under the head of *miscellaneous* writings. Still nothing is omitted which would add much to the fame of the writer as a literary man.

2. Considering the active life of Mr. Wesley, it is astonishing that he wrote and published so much, on such variety of subjects, and so well. Most of his works were written after he was forty and before he was seventy years of age. Strange that amid incessant preaching and traveling, and constant oversight of the rising ministry and societies, he could have written so many works, and on so many and diversified topics! The quality of the writings too is not to be forgotten in estimating this literary man. All the works may not have equal merit for style; and yet all show great care, the purity of the English tongue, neatness in the sentences, and a finish and polish which a scholar only can give. He was so perfect in the English style when he began to write as to be susceptible of little or no improvement. (See Journals, Sept. 1, 1778.) He was a very slow writer, (letter to Mr. Richard Thompson, 1756,) and little needed to revise his sentences. The slowness in writing sprung from the desire, and generated the habit, of great carefulness.

3. Considering the numerous literary works of Mr. Wesley, it may be supposed that he derived therefrom a large *income*. He was not dependent on his works or on the Methodists for his living, "Your lordship cannot but know, that my fellowship and my brother's studentship afford us more than sufficient for life and godliness, especially for that life which we choose." (Letter to Bishop of London.) The fellowships in the English colleges entitle to a share in the revenues, varying generally from £30 to £250 a year, with the right of apartments and board. The first eighteen years of his authorship he does not seem to have gained anything, but rather lost. Having settled his temporal business, after some sickness, he

says: "It is now about eighteen years since I began writing and printing books; and how much in that time have I gained by printing? Why, on summing up my accounts, I found that on March 1, 1756, I had gained, by printing and preaching together, a debt of £1,236. Seventeen years after the income of the London Society was bad, but, says he, "My private account I find still worse. I have labored as much as many writers, and all my labor has gained me, in seventy years, a debt of five or six hundred pounds." (Journal, 1773.) Mr. Wesley kept printing presses of his own, and he might have lost in carrying on the business. Some of his works were very profitable; others, as his Commentary on the Old Testament and the Christian Library, did not pay. Another cause of debt was the cheap mode in which he published, for the sake of usefulness. His works, with his brother's, must have yielded much profit. Before Charles Wesley married, his brother gave security to the parents of the young lady for the yearly payment of £100, on the profits of their books. The mother (Mrs. Gwynne) wrote to Mr. Perronet to know whether the sale of the books would be likely to continue before she consented to the marriage. The good clergyman wrote her:

"The writings of these gentlemen are, even at this time, a very valuable estate; and when it shall please God to open the minds of the people more, and prejudice is worn off, it will be much more valuable. I have seen what an able bookseller has valued a great part of their works at, which is £2,500; but I will venture to say that this is not half their value. They are works which will last and sell while any sense of true religion and learning shall remain among us."

Here we have an estimate of the value of the books published prior to 1749. The after works were also of great value. Charles Wesley appears to have had his £100 a year from the income of the books. And his brother, especially after he gave up his fellowship, doubtless drew yearly from the same source. These books were not only profitable to the writers, but to the English Methodist Conference, for Mr. Wesley in his will gave all his books on sale to the body of preachers. The books are still on sale, and yield, especially the hymn books, a large sum every year to the English Conference. The works are useful, too, to the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, who also derive pecuniary assistance from the same source. And in Canada, the Wesleyan Book Room sells and profits by the hymn books and other works of the founder of Methodism. These books, now a hundred years are passed away, "last and sell," as Mr. Perronet said, and doubtless will "last and sell" to the end of the world.

## ART. VII.—EXPOSITION OF THE EIGHTH PSALM.

## INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Subject of this Psalm.*

“THE subject of this psalm,” says Hengstenberg, is “the greatness of God in the greatness of man.” We would say that it is man in his primitive condition, made in the image of God, “a little less than God,” and the ruler over the works of God; man as fallen, yet blessed with the divine visitations of mercy; and man by implication, as redeemed by the Son of God.

This prevailing topic is prefaced by an ascription of praise to Jehovah:

O Lord our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth!  
Who hast spread thy glory upon the heavens;  
Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength,  
Because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and avenger.

The psalmist then introduces the prevailing subject of the following verses, namely, man as frail and mortal, but yet originally almost divine, crowned with glory and honor, and ruler over the works of the Divine hand; and the last verse closes with a second ascription of praise in precisely the same terms as those of the first verse.

§ 2. *Is this psalm Messianic?*

It is plainly not Messianic in the sense that Messiah is the *exclusive* subject. The Messiah is, however, an *included* subject, as man is the general subject, and Messiah, as possessed of human nature, is therefore included.

Hence the apostle, Heb. ii, 5-9, applies this psalm to Christ: “For unto the angels hath he not put in subjection the world to come [the Gospel dispensation] whereof we speak; but one in a certain place [the Eighth Psalm] testified saying:

What is man that thou art mindful of him,  
Or the Son of man that thou visitest him?  
Thou didst make him [originally] a little lower than the angels;  
Thou didst crown him with glory and honor;  
Thou didst put all things under his feet.



For in that He [God] did put all things under him [man]; he left nothing which was not put under him. But we see Jesus [in human nature] made a little lower than the angels for the reason that he must suffer death, crowned with glory and honor, that he by the grace of God might taste death for every man."

Jesus, therefore, as man, is crowned with glory and honor. His earthly glory was great, but his heavenly glory is greater. We see, indeed, not yet all things put under him actually, but they are prospectively put under him. In the purpose of the Father he is the Ruler over all.

We do not, therefore, call this psalm Messianic in the same sense as the second, twenty-second, twenty-fourth, fortieth, forty-fifth, seventy-second, and one hundred and tenth. These psalms we take to be exclusively Messianic; and it is not necessary to understand the apostle's quotation of the eighth Psalm, as implying its *exclusive* Messianic character; only that Jesus is referred to and included in human nature; and as God gave to man originally the government of the world, made him ruler over the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fish of the sea, (Gen. i, 20-25,) so *all things* shall be subject to Jesus as the head of human nature.

§ 3. *What is the meaning of אֱלֹהִים in ver. 5?*

We make this a matter of distinct inquiry, because our translators, following the Septuagint, Vulgate and Chaldee, have rendered it by the term "angels" a very doubtful signification, and a rendering which, so far as we remember, is not followed elsewhere by our version. The following are the only passages to which this signification has been thought to belong, namely, Psa. lxxxii, 1; xcvi, 7, and cxxxviii, 1, and verse 5 of this Psalm.

Psa. lxxxii, 1, reads as follows:

אֱלֹהִים נִשָּׁב בְּעֶזְרֵת־אֵל  
בְּקֶרֶב אֱלֹהִים יִשְׁפֹּט

*God stands up in the assembly of god,  
In the midst of the gods he judges.*

De Wette and Bleeker, following Syrus, render אֱלֹהִים "angels;" but if we compare verses second and sixth, it would seem that we are rather to understand *princes of the land*, who are hence called אֱלֹהִים, *gods*, because they, as judges who stand in the

place of God, are administrators of justice. Compare especially the sixth and seventh verses, where God thus addresses them :

אֱלֹהִים אַתֶּם אֲמַרְתִּי אֱלֹהִים אַתֶּם

וּבְנֵי עֲלִיּוֹן כְּלֶכֶם :

אָבן עֲאֲדֶם הַמִּדְבָּר

וּבְאֶחָד מִשְׁפָּרִים תִּפְּלוּ :

6. *I said, Ye are gods,  
And sons of the Most High all of you.*

7. *Surely like men ye shall die;  
As one of the princes ye shall fall.*

Which we may paraphrase thus : Though I said ye are gods, highly exalted and standing in the divine place as judges in the land, yet on account of your unjust verdicts, oppressive to the poor and the needy, ye shall die as one of the common herd, ye shall fall by sudden and violent deaths. Death temporal, and that by violence, could not be predicable of *angels*; and hence the translation of Syrus, De Wette, and Bleeke is untenable.

The next passage in which it is supposed אֱלֹהִים means angels is found in the ninety-seventh psalm, seventh verse :

הִשְׁתַּחֲוִי-לוֹ כָּל-אֱלֹהִים

*Worship Him, all ye gods.*

Septuagint : προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ.

*Worship Him, all ye his angels.*

So the Vulgate and the Syriac. But the context plainly obliges us to refer it to false gods, and by metonymy those that worship them. Hence Hengstenberg : "The false gods are called upon to worship through the medium of their servants. The idol gods are also in other passages frequently viewed poetically, as gifted momentarily with life and feeling, only for the purpose of exhibiting the Lord as triumphing over them; compare Exod. xii, 12; Num. xxxiii, 4 : "And upon their gods has the Lord executed judgment;" Isa. xix, 1 : "Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud and cometh to Egypt, and the gods of the Egyptians are moved at his presence." The Septuagint could not understand this representation, and substituted angels instead of gods, to whom what was said could apply only by an inference, as *a majore ad minus*; if the proud gods of the heathen cannot measure themselves with the Lord, how much less may the angels. Heb. i, 6. As decisive against the *direct*

reference to the angels may be mentioned the whole connection and tendency of the psalm, which is to inspirit the people of God in prospect of the approaching victory [over] the false gods; and also the *usus loquendi*, as *Elohim* never signifies angels." So Gesenius in *Thesaurus*.

The next and last passage is *Psa. cxxxviii, 1*:

נָגַד אֱלֹהִים אֶתְּהַדָּר

*I will sing praise to Thee before the gods.*

Septuagint: *ἐναντίον ἀγγέλων ψαλῶ σοι.*

Vulgate: *In conspectu angelorum psalam tibi.*

Chald: *קִבֵּל דִּינִי, Before the judges.*

Gesenius, who for once is found napping, says: "At אֱלֹהִים נָגַד *nil aliud esse videtur atque, לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים, לִפְנֵי יְהוָה, that is, אֱלֹהִים, נָגַד, seems to be nothing more than the common formula, before God, found in such passages as Exod. xvi, 33; Lev. xxiii, 40; 2 Sam. vi, 14; Josh. xxiv, 1; Judges xxi, 2; 1 Chron. xiii, 8, 11. But this plainly cannot be, inasmuch as there is a direct address made to Jehovah by the psalmist. The English version is correct: "Before the gods I will sing praise unto thee." The sense is, Jehovah is God alone, and as such I will declare him in the presence of all idols and their worshipers. Compare 2 Sam. vii, 22: "The Lord God is great, for no one is like him, and there is no God besides him." There is no need, therefore, of departing from the *usus loquendi* and interpreting the אֱלֹהִים by angels.*

A more difficult question now arises. If אֱלֹהִים never means angels, how comes it to pass that the Apostle Paul, quoting the Septuagint in Heb. i, 6, and ii, 7, adopts its errors, and founds an argument upon them for the superior and even divine nature of our Lord Jesus Christ? For this purpose the apostle quotes in Heb. i, 6, from the ninety-seventh Psalm, seventh verse: "And when again he brings his first-begotten into the world, he saith: *καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ*—and let all the angels of God worship him. This quotation coincides with the Septuagint, except in using the oblique *προσκυνησάτωσαν*, instead of the direct *προσκυνήσατε*. The argument of the apostle is, if Jehovah commands the angels to worship the Son, then the Son is superior to angels, and consequently divine.

In the quotation from the eighth Psalm in Heb. ii, 7, the object of the apostle seems to be twofold: 1. To show the divine dignity

of the Messiah, in that he is to be the Supreme Ruler of the worlds, for the Father "hath put all things under his feet." 2. To bring out the fact that Jesus was truly *human* as well as *divine*. For this cause "we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels on account of suffering death, that by the grace of God he might taste death for every man." Jesus, therefore, is both divine and human; he is both God and man, and as such is in every way able to accomplish the great work of human salvation. The passage is well calculated to illustrate and bring out this thought, and it is well calculated to do it as it stood in the Greek of the Septuagint. This Greek version was in universal use both among Jews and Christians. It was made by the Jews themselves; it was used in their synagogues, being read every Sabbath. It was indeed commonly received by them as an almost inspired production, many receiving it as such. The apostles, therefore, read the Septuagint and quoted from it. The old Hebrew was a dead language to the great body of the people, and had been ever since the captivity. There was no other way in which the apostle could reason directly with the great mass of the people out of the Scriptures, except through the Septuagint version. He uses it, therefore, and does not go into nice questions of criticism as to how much more מלאך means than *αγγελος*. It was sufficient for him that the Septuagint rendering was appropriate to his purpose, and expressed the meaning of the original sufficiently near. Besides, he was himself an inspired teacher, and thus was able to sanction the doctrine contained in the Septuagint rendering of the passage, though it might not be a literally correct translation of the inspired Hebrew. The doctrine of verbal inspiration does not require the sacred writers, as some seem to suppose, to quote each other *verbatim et literatim*, or to give their accounts of the same transactions in the same language. Even David reproducing the eighteenth Psalm, probably for another occasion, varies very materially from the original copy given in the Book of Samuel. So, also, there are important variations in the fifty-third Psalm from the fourteenth, which would seem to have been the original copy. The same fact may also be observed in the fourth chapter of Micah, first three verses, and the second chapter of Isaiah, first four verses. The Spirit inspires the prophet to use words on one occasion which on another occasion by another prophet he rejects and substitutes by others. The evangelists Matthew and Luke do not use the same words in reporting the Sermon on the Mount, nor do they use the same words in reporting the same facts. There are variations the reasons of which may not be obvious to us, and yet all is consistent with the

doctrine of a verbal inspiration. Variations would be often required, indeed, on new occasions and when new objects are in view. And each writer must be left to exercise his own individuality. "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets," at the same time that they "speak as they are moved by the Holy Ghost."

We therefore reject the explanation commonly given to אֲלֹהִים, namely, that of *angels*, as utterly without philological foundation. The reason why the Septuagint and Chaldee adopted it, was on account of the apparent theological difficulty that man should be represented "as a little lower than God." But the difficulty is greatly relieved when we remember that the psalmist speaks of man as he came from the hand of his Maker, and not of man as fallen. This is clear from this and the following verses, as compared with the account of the Creation in Gen. i, 27, 28: "And God created man in his image, in the image of God created he him; male and female he created them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it: and rule over the fish of the sea, the fowl of heaven, and over every creeping thing which creepeth upon the earth." How very like this is the description of man in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth verses of this psalm: "Thou didst make him to want but little of God;" that is, "God created man in his own image," and the repetition follows for the sake of emphasis: "In the image of God created he him." "Thou didst crown him with glory and honor, Thou didst make him ruler over the works of thy hands, Thou didst place all things under his feet. Sheep and oxen, all of them, and also the cattle of the field, the bird of heaven and fish of the sea, and whatsoever passes through the paths of the sea." The passage of the psalm is so entirely alike that in Genesis, we cannot avoid referring it to man in his primitive condition. We hence infer that this psalm, taken in connection with the account of man's creation, teaches the doctrine that in dignity, as first created, he was superior to the angels, and next in order to the Divine Being.

This view further receives support from the fact that in the New Testament various passages show that man, redeemed and glorified, reassumes his primeval dignity, and is elevated above angels. "*Are they not all ministering spirits, (says Paul, Heb. i, 14,) sent forth to minister to them who are the heirs of salvation?*" "*Do ye not know (says Paul to the brethren at Corinth, 1 Cor. vi, 2,) the saints shall judge the world; yea, 'Do you not know that we shall judge angels?'*" In the visions of the Apocalypticist the saints are seen nearest the throne, yea, that a suitable impression may be

made on the minds of the saints as to their future dignity and glory, the Lord Jesus himself declares: "*To him that overcometh I will give to sit with me in my throne, even as I have overcome and am set down with my Father in his throne.* Rev. iii, 21. Thus we hold, according to the Scriptures, the eighth Psalm teaches no absurdity when it represents man in his primitive and glorified state as second only to the Lord of all.

It now only remains for us to present a translation of this psalm, with some brief explanatory notes.

## TRANSLATION.

1. *To the Chief Musician upon Githith.*

*A Psalm of David.*

2. *O Jehovah our God,  
How excellent is thy name in all the earth;  
Which glory of thine place thou above (or upon) the heavens.*
3. *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast ordained strength  
because of thy enemies;  
To still the enemy and the avenger.*
4. *When I behold thy heavens the work of thy fingers;  
The moon and the stars which thou hast made.*
5. *What is man that thou art mindful of him,  
And the Son of Man that thou visitest him.*
6. *Thou hast made him to want a little of God;  
With glory and honor thou hast crowned him.*
7. *Thou hast made him ruler over the works of thy hands;  
Thou hast placed all things under his feet.*
8. *Sheep and oxen all of them,  
And also the beast of the field.*
9. *The fowl of heaven and the fish of the sea,  
And what passeth through the paths of the seas.*
10. *O Jehovah our God,  
How excellent is thy name in all the earth.*

## NOTES.

Verse 1. *עַל-הַגִּתִּית*, upon the harp of Gath, or in the Gathic style, *גִּתִּית*, in the sense of Gathic, of Gath, the city of the Philistines, occurs frequently. Compare Joshua xiii, 3; 2 Sam. vi, 10, 11; xv, 18. "It is worthy of remark," says Hengstenberg, "that all the three psalms distinguished by this name (besides this, lxxxi and lxxxiv) are of a joyful, thanksgiving character, from which it may be inferred that the githith was an instrument of cheerful sound or lively air."

Verse 2. *שֵׁם*, name. How excellent is thy name, not thy mere name, but the being expressed by the name. The name is the



mere sign; the thing signified is in the mind of the psalmist. So the Lord's Prayer, *Hallowed be thy name*, that is, the Lord. This is Hebraistic usage.

תָּתֵן, *give or place thou*, imperative of תָּתַן, Hengstenberg will have this an infinitive construct used as a noun. Final, ה, he says, is the feminine termination, but he fails to give us any other instances. We ought not for any subjective reasons to give up a well-known imperative form which occurs in other passages in more than a score of instances. See, for example, Gen. xxx. 26; xlii. 37; Numbers xi. 13; xxvii. 4; Josh. xiv. 12; xv. 19; 1 Sam. ii. 15; viii. 6; ix. 23; xxi. 4; xxv. 8. It is useless to quote further. See Concordance. We therefore translate with Gesenius, *which glory of thine set thou [also] above the heavens*, that is, let thy glory thus manifested here on earth be also acknowledged and celebrated throughout the whole universe.

Verse 3. עִלְלִים, children in general; יְרוּקִים, infant children, children at the breast. Hence we render *out of the mouths of children and infants* [even children yet at the breast] *thou hast ordained strength because of thy enemies*; that is, even little children by their unconscious praise of his glory, as seen in the beautiful landscape, the shining sun, the glowing moon and stars, which even the infant mind observes and is pleased with, put to shame the miserable hardihood of infidelity and atheism. Our Lord, as related in Matt. xxi. 16, rebuked the Pharisees who could not contain themselves because children were crying to him Hosanna, by bringing to their remembrance the third verse of this psalm: "Have ye never read, *Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?*"

Verses 4 and 5. *What is man* אָדָם from אָדָה, to be *weak, frail*, referring especially to his bodily nature, used intentionally instead of אִשׁ or אָדָה. The knot to be untied here is this: Does David refer to man in his fallen or in his primitive condition? Weakness and frailty would be more naturally attributed to him in his fallen condition, and this is the view which we prefer.

Observe that *man* and *Son of man*, by the parallelism, refer to the same person.

Verse 6. For remarks on this verse see § 3 of the introduction. *With honor and glory thou crownest him*. The common designation of royal honor and majesty. Compare Ps. xxi. 5; xlv. 3; Jer. xxii. 18; 1 Chron. xxix. 25.

Verse 7. *Thou hast placed all things under his feet*. This can be fulfilled by man, as the apostle argues, only in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ. *We see not yet all things put under him*,

[man,] but we see Jesus, who [in human nature] was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honor. This is really and prospectively fulfilled in Jesus; all things are or will soon be put under him.

Verses 8 and 9. Man had a much more complete dominion over the lower orders of animals in his primitive condition than now. The animal creation then spontaneously obeyed him. After the fall they obey only by compulsion.

Verse 10. It is fitting that the same ascription of praise should end this psalm with that which commenced it. God be praised for his goodness to his creature man!

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#### ART. VIII.—THE LORD'S SUPPER.

THE term *sacramentum* originally signified, in ecclesiastical usage, any of the mysteries of religion. The Vulgate renders *μυστήριον* by *sacramentum*. The word received its more definite signification during the controversy on the number of the sacraments; it is applied by the Protestant Church to the rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper only. Augustine's definition of a sacrament is, "*Sacramentum est sacra rei signum.*" Luther defined a sacrament to be, "Those observances, appointed by God, in which one makes use of a visible thing, which has the divine word of command and of promise." The Protestant idea of the sacraments is more definitely embodied in the Heidelberg Catechism, and the twenty-fifth of the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. For obvious reasons, we need not quote from either of these sources.

The term "Lord's Supper" was introduced by the apostle Paul, (1 Cor. xi, 20;) he also speaks of the "Lord's table," (1 Cor. x, 20;) in these terms he may include both the love-feast and the eucharist, which, in his day, were usually celebrated together. The "breaking of bread" (Acts ii 42) is commonly supposed to refer to this rite.

Though the Church received this holy sacrament from the hands of the apostles with a simple and childlike faith, yet speculations upon its character and effects were very early indulged. From simply believing that they thereby held communion with Christ, the early Christians soon proceeded to theorize on the manner of that com-

munion. A distinction between the symbolical and the real in the elements of the supper was early recognized, though these ideas were at first intimately blended with each other. Their entire separation was the work of a later age.

In the first century Ignatius, writing to the Romans, desired "the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, and the drink of God, which is his blood." In his epistle to the Smyrnæans, he repudiates those who "deny the eucharist to be the flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ." Yet the venerable Bishop of Antioch was by no means a believer in transubstantiation.

In the second century Irenæus, who gave great prominence to the doctrine of the Logos, laid particular stress on the mysterious connection between the Word and the elements of the eucharist. Shortly after this we notice a superstitious reverence for the elements growing up; then follows the belief that they possessed miraculous power; then the eucharist is separated from the agape, and invested with great pomp and solemnity; finally, there is developed what has been called the mystical hypothesis.

This divergence from the simple to the supernatural and the superstitious was greatly furthered by Cyprian, who held many strange notions concerning the Lord's Supper. The offering of thanks was from the beginning connected with the celebration of the eucharist, and gifts, as expressions of thankfulness, were sometimes, in the earliest ages of the Church, brought to the Lord's table. Hence the eucharist came to be regarded as a thank offering, and not long after as a sacrifice. Cyprian assisted much in establishing this latter notion, by asserting that the priest imitated the sacrifice of Christ in the communion. Indeed, the general tenor of his writings lead to the adoption of this view. Clement, a cotemporary of Cyprian, held closely, though not purely, to the symbolical character of the eucharist. But his fondness for symbols and allegories led him astray. With him the flesh was a symbol, the blood was a symbol, the mixture of water and wine was a symbol, and each of these set forth a distinct and vital doctrine. Origen (A. D. 185-253) fell back in some degree upon the simple view of the infant Church. He regarded the "consecrated meat" as profitable to him only who received it by faith. But his views on this sacrament were deemed too negative for general acceptance; that Christ's body and blood were in and with the elements was almost universally believed, though as yet the great teachers of the Church had determined neither upon consubstantiation nor transubstantiation.

As we approach the age of Augustine, (A. D. 354-430,) we discover in the liturgies and terminology of the Church an effort for

a more exact exhibition of the character of the eucharist. He attempted, though without any considerable success, a union of the symbolical and mystical theories, and repudiated the superstitious reverence for the elements which prevailed extensively in his time. But his efforts in this respect were without permanent effect, for the Church still kept up this superstitious reverence, until, finally, the adoration of the elements was formally and universally enjoined by Honarius III., 1217.

A century and a half after Augustine, Gregory the Great, following the hint of Cyprian, boldly taught the doctrine of a daily sacrifice in the celebration of the eucharist. Hugo of St. Victor, in the eleventh century, treated the sacraments with more precision, perhaps, than any of his predecessors; yet he counted a large number of them, which he divided into three classes. He sided with the mystics, though without committing himself to many of the errors of that school.

The doctrine of transubstantiation was formally and in council, under Innocent III., (1215,) adopted as the doctrine of the Roman Church. Ten years after this Thomas Aquinas, with profound learning, attempted a precise treatment of the sacraments; he boldly defended the doctrine of *ex opere operato*. Against both him and the Church wrote Dun Scotus (1308) and Wiclif, (1384,) with much learning and ability. Wiclif assailed with great force the doctrine of impanation, (the union of the bread with the body of Christ,\*) which had been adopted by many who opposed the absurdities of transubstantiation.

This brief outline brings us down to the period of the Reformation, when the sacrament controversy between the Catholic and Protestant Churches reached its height. The Protestant Churches failed to harmonize with each other on this subject, but divided into three great parties, represented by Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin; and even these parties were afterward subdivided into smaller sections.

Luther taught that the *body* of Christ is really and *substantially* present in the elements, and is received, though not *physically*, by the communicant. This view, with various modifications, is received by a large portion of the Lutheran Church, though consubstantiation and transubstantiation are alike generally repudiated.

Zuinglius taught that the human nature of Christ was not present in the supper; that the eucharist was a symbolical and commemorative rite, attended with gracious and spiritual influences.

\* There was another phase of this, namely: That the divine nature of Christ entered into and occupied the bread as it entered into the human nature in the womb of the Virgin.

Calvin sought to avoid these extremes. He taught that Christ's glorified body is really, but spiritually present in the elements, not in substance but in power; and that of him the communicant partakes by faith.

It is remarkable that a large body of the Lutherans have adopted the theory of Calvin, or some similar view; for Melancthon's theory, which is held by some in the Lutheran Church, approaches very closely that of Calvin. It is still more remarkable that Calvinists, especially in this country, have receded to the views of Zuinglius. These several theories, with various intermediate shades of opinion, yet prevail in the Protestant Churches.

The history of this controversy teaches us to place but little reliance in ecclesiastical or traditional authority in forming theological opinions; it teaches us to appeal to the Scriptures as the sole rule of faith and practice. In Scripture we have four accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper; those given by the synoptists, and that of Paul. Though these agree in general features, they show some slight variations. These differences may be grouped into two classes: The narratives of Matthew and Mark coinciding, and those of Luke and Paul.

We shall make the Pauline account (1 Cor. xi, 23-30) the basis of our observations. The apostle claims (ver. 23) to have received his account directly from the Lord—*απο του κυριου*. We understand *απο* here to denote, not a mediate, as it generally does, but an immediate communication. It is true, the use of this preposition in such connections implies the receiving by means of some intervening person, yet it is not invariably so used. (See Winer's Grammatik, § 51, etc.) But the apostle's account is not drawn from any preëxisting narrative of the holy supper; in such case *απο του κυριου* would be improper; and it is unnatural to suppose he received this revelation at second-hand, when there were direct and immediate revelations made to him. (Gal. i, 12, etc.)

Further, the apostle in the above passage seems to have emphasized the *εγω*, which strongly confirms our view.

Following the example of Christ, the early Church partook of this sacrament after supper. This supper was an agape, or love-feast. It was the custom of the Greeks, at their sacrificial feasts, to allow each one to bring his own provision. (Xen. Mem., iii, 14. Mark here the expedient of Socrates to avoid the abuse to which this practice would naturally tend.) This custom was adopted by the Corinthian Church in the celebration of the agape. But it soon led to invidious distinctions. The rich fared sumptuously, sometimes to drunkenness and gluttony; while the poor were often in

want. The common relation of rich and poor to God and Christ was forgotten, and the feeling of unity and brotherhood was destroyed. Disputings and divisions followed. (1 Cor. xi, 18.)

Further, it appears (1 Cor. viii, 10: x, 18, etc.) some of the Corinthian Christians had been present at heathen sacrificial feasts, and had partaken of the meat offered to idols, to the great scandal of the Church. It was with the knowledge of these abuses that the apostle addressed to the Corinthians his first epistle. After rebuking sharply these disorders, he presents the true doctrine of the eucharist, as he had received it from the Lord. "*In the same night that he was betrayed*"—that is, the evening closing the fourteenth of Nisan, the beginning of the fifteenth, (Matt. xxvi, 17, 20; Mark xiv, 12, 17; Luke xxii, 7, 14,\*) "*the Lord Jesus . . . took bread, and when he had given thanks*"—this giving thanks is not mentioned by Matthew or Mark—"he brake it and said, *Take, eat: this is my body which is broken for you.*" Thus far we have seen no attempt to change the character of the bread. The mere giving of thanks over it, or the breaking of it, could not change its character. Yet of this bread he says, "*This is my body.*" How shall we understand this?

Carlstadt, supposes the Saviour here pointed to his body; but this is an unsupported and improbable hypothesis. Zuinglius says *εστι* is to be taken in the sense of signifies, of which sense of the word there are many examples in the Scriptures. Ecolampadius thinks *εστι* is to be taken literally, but that *το σωμα μου* is figurative. Storr thinks the passage should be rendered, "this confers my body." Luther professes to receive the words literally, and very broadly intimates that those who understand them differently are fools. But, strange to say, the literal sense of the words does not give the slightest support to his view of the sacrament. To say that Christ's body is in, with, or under the bread, as he does, is to reject the literal sense of the words. There is no alternative; the words, "*this is my body,*" literally understood, shut us up to the one single conclusion, that the bread is really the body, and nothing more nor less than the body of Christ. If Luther's premise is right his conclusion is wrong, and there is no escape from the absurd dogma of transubstantiation.

The disciples themselves must have understood these words figuratively. The absurdity of eating a body which was at the same time living, and before them, would have arrested their attention, and, if

° For a thorough discussion of the question whether this was truly the paschal supper, and celebrated at the proper time, see *Bibliotheca Sacra* for August, 1845.



we may judge from the analogy of their past intercourse, induced some remark.\*

There can be no reception of the body of Christ without at the same time receiving his blood; the *usus loquendi* admits *σῶμα* for *σὰρξ*, and *σὰρξ* and *αἷμα* are essential parts of the organic body, but these terms are not applicable to the glorified corporeality. (1 Cor. xv, 48-53; Phil. iii, 21.)

The separation of the body and blood, together with the use of the phrases "body broken" and "blood shed," to our mind most clearly\* refers to the death of Christ, to the crucified body and not to the risen one. The eucharist, scripturally administered, cannot present the glorified humanity of Christ, for that *was not, is not, and cannot be broken*. It evidently has reference to the past; to what was, and not to what now is.

We are not saved by the blood of Christ, neither by his body; these terms, in this connection, always refer to his sacrificial death, which is the sole ground of our salvation, and are necessarily to be understood figuratively.

These facts settle, we think, the representative character of the Lord's Supper. In this it is analogous to the Passover, which was a symbolical rite. It is a noticeable fact that the Saviour, in the institution of the supper, followed the liturgical formula prescribed in the Mishna for the administration of the Passover. After the supper the head of the house took a cake of unleavened bread, pronounced a blessing over it, brake it, and gave a portion to each member of the company, saying: "This is the bread of affliction which our fathers did eat in the land of Egypt." This language was figurative, and was universally so understood. Hence the disciples were fully prepared to understand the language of Christ in that figurative sense in which it was used. A figurative style was highly appropriate on an occasion so symbolical, and could have led to no difficulty in their minds.

Paul continues: "*After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament (ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη, new covenant) in my blood:*" This cup, so used, that is, in the solemn rite now instituted; these words set forth the covenant character of this sacrament.

They exhibit the eucharist as a *signum confirmans* of the new

\* The language of Christ upon another occasion (John vi) somewhat similar to this did lead to an expression of their wonderment, and now they may have had a clue to its meaning. The arguments used to press this passage (John vi, 31-58) into the service of the real presence theory are so labored and unnatural that they need no refutation.

covenant which is sealed in the Saviour's blood. And here we are forcibly reminded of the language of Moses when sprinkling the people with blood: "Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words." Ex. xxiv, 8. This use of blood as a sign of a covenant between God and man originated in the institution of the Passover. Under the present dispensation the sprinkling of blood has been abolished, but the "cup," with the wine, which symbolizes the shed blood, that is, the sacrificial death of Christ, comes instead thereof as the sign of the new covenant. This cup none can properly use who have not entered into a covenant relation with God through Jesus Christ.

Returning to the narrative we read: "*For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, show ye the Lord's death till he come.*" The Passover was statedly celebrated as a sign to "show" forth the deliverance of Israel from the hand of the destroying angel. (Ex. xiii, 8, 9.) So is the eucharist to show forth our deliverance through Christ's death. The above words are signally repugnant to any theory of Christ's actual presence in the sacrament. We can conceive of but two ways in which Christ may be present. First, spiritually, as he is always present with his people: "Lo! I am with you always." Second, in his human or bodily form, in which he is to appear but once more, and at the end of the world. If he is spiritually present in the supper, it is no more than he is in any other means of grace properly used. If he is actually present, in bodily form, it is in contradiction to those passages which confine his coming to the last day. But Paul here says, the eucharist is to show forth his death until his coming again, hence he cannot be actually and bodily present therein.

Neander puts the institution of the supper between the 32d and 33d verses of the 13th chapter of John. This is very appropriate to our view; for in the 33d verse Christ notifies his disciples of his intended departure in such form as precluded the supposition that he would be in any manner present with them. In this connection, therefore, the Supper is a rite very full of comfort to all who love his appearing.

1 Cor. x, 16 is claimed for the support of the actual presence theory. The particular point rested on is the word communion, *κοινωνια*.<sup>\*</sup> The use of this word in the Scriptures does not warrant such a conclusion. The apostle here affirms that we are partakers of the body and blood of Christ; that is, of the crucified, not of the living Christ. The separation of the body and blood, in this passage,

<sup>\*</sup> But to sustain this view, this *κοινωνια* must be *ex opere operato*, and not by faith, but that is an absurdity.

refers to the sacrificial death of Christ; it would be grossly absurd to say *κοινωνία του αἵματος, του σώματος* in reference to the glorified humanity of Jesus. Communion with his glorified corporeality could not be expressed by such terms. Had this been the meaning of the apostle he would have said, *κοινωνία του χριστου*, or used terms still more direct.

The eucharist is a symbolical rite. The bread and wine are used separately to symbolize Christ's sacrificial death. But the symbolism does not stop here, as is too commonly supposed. The partaking of these elements by the communicant is also a symbolical act. By his reception of the elements he symbolizes an actual, personal participation in the vicarious merits of Christ's death. In this sense, and in this sense only, are we partakers of the body and blood of Christ. This fact sufficiently answers the objection that the mass of Protestants make the eucharist a cold memorial rite, and invests it with sublime moral significance. (1 Cor. xi, 27-29.) The apostle here enjoins upon communicants the duty of self-examination. The Church has always recognized this duty, and in some instances formally enjoined its observance as an essential prerequisite to communion. Its utility is beyond dispute. He further warns against eating and drinking unworthily; for he that does so "*eateth and drinketh damnation (judgment) to himself.*" He that commemorates the death of Christ, and yet lives in sin, gives judgment against himself; he stands self-condemned. He professes by this act a participation in the atonement, and yet in his daily life denies the blood which bought him.

"*He discerns not the Lord's body,*" the broken body; that is, the sacrificial death of Christ symbolized by the supper.

The weakness and sickness mentioned in verse 30 was the result of the excesses and abuses attending the celebration of the agape and the supper among the Corinthians, which Paul has already so warmly condemned.

Such is our view of the eucharist. It is a sign to "show forth Christ's death" in its vicarious, sacrificial character; a memorial of Christ as a sin-offering and sufficient propitiation, in which is founded the new covenant; in the participation of which sign we show forth also our actual participation in the merits of his death. It is a seal of the covenant. On the part of the communicant, it is a pledge of faithfulness to the conditions of the new covenant. On the part of the Founder, it is a constantly renewed pledge to every one who receives it by faith, that he is an object of divine regard, and to him the covenant shall be well-ordered and sure.

ART. IX.—WESLEYANISM AND TAYLORISM—REPLY TO THE  
NEW ENGLANDER.

THE Synopsis of our January Quarterly contains a running comment of our own on a review of Dr. Taylor's theology contained in the New Englander for November 1859. In our comment we commend the article and commend Dr. Taylor; but we charge the reviewer with imagining an unreal originality in Dr. Taylor, and with misstating and misrepresenting Mr. Wesley's opinions in order to exalt Dr. Taylor at his expense. To this the reviewer furnishes, in the New Englander for May 1860, a "Reply," in which reply he repeats the misrepresentation, reinforces it with additions, and aggravates it with a pretended proof of its truth. We now, in reply, reaffirm and extend our original allegation. The reviewer did misstate and misrepresent Mr. Wesley; he has repeated and aggravated the offense; and the object was to exalt Dr. Taylor at his expense; and of all these allegations we are now ready to furnish the proof.

We shall in our reply consider, first, our allegation that Mr. Wesley is misrepresented; and second, the truthfulness of our statement, that certain points claimed as original with Dr. Taylor are contained in Wesleyan Theology.

I. Said we truly that Mr. Wesley is misrepresented?

The point in regard to which the misrepresentation is alleged is *the necessity of sin to the divine system*. Mr. Wesley's doctrine as we aver is, in substance, that the sin of Adam has, through the divine interposition, been made the occasion of a greater good to men than could have otherwise existed in the system inaugurated on earth. The doctrine which the reviewer attributes to him is this: Sin is the necessary means of the highest good of the universe. If these two propositions are identical in meaning, and intentionally identical, then Mr. Wesley's doctrine has been truly represented; if they essentially vary, our first charge of misrepresentation is just and true. And now for our proof both of the *object* and the *nature* of the misrepresentation.

The *object* of the reviewer's entire article is to make a favorable presentation of Dr. Taylor and his theology. On the mooted point, the object was to show that Dr. Edwards, Dr. Hopkins, and Dr. West were all inferior to Dr. Taylor in the clearness and truth of their views. They held substantially that sin is for the best good of the system of divine government. And not only they but Wesley, and Mr. Bledsoe, who "is in sympathy with Wesley," were quoted as holding the same inferior view. Touching the *object* by

us alleged, then, we think, there can be no dispute. The reviewer's purpose was to exalt Dr. Taylor at the expense of Mr. Wesley. And now for the "misrepresentation" itself.

Let our reader now take the sermon of Mr. Wesley on Romans v, 15, and they will find his statements; every syllable of which, so far as this discussion is concerned, we indorse and adopt, and which they will find, we think, truly represented in the following summary. Wesley first states his purpose, which is to *vindicate God in permitting Adam's sin*, not to prove its necessity. By Adam's fall, he argues, good is attained for our race, contingent or positive, far above what the course of mere nature without divine interposition could have afforded. We have gained a *capacity* for higher holiness and happiness both in earth and heaven. For if Adam had not sinned Christ had not died; and all the blessings of the atonement system, of Christian faith, hope, and love, would have been wanting. The sufferings and trials which his sin has introduced would never have existed to develop our graces and enable us to attain a higher probationary reward. Moreover, had not Adam sinned every man would, perhaps, have been put upon his individual probation, and would have undergone a greater risk, with no provided remedy, of being finally lost. And in his sermon on Gen. iii, 19, Wesley maintains that the atonement through Christ, consequent upon the sin of Adam, is "the noblest theme of all the children of God on earth;" "yea, even of angels and archangels and all the company of heaven." We think we have now said it all; we adopt it all; and yet in full consistency with it all we promptly reject the maxim that sin is the necessary means of the highest good of the universe. If this is so very mysterious to the innocence of our reviewer, let him weigh the following suggestions:

1. Our earth is not the whole "universe." Throughout his article the reviewer writes precisely as if the universe and our earth were commensurate or identical. But our race is not the entire amount of God's kingdom. The angels, at least, fell before the fall of man; and hell is more ancient than our human world. Man was not the first sinner even in Eden, nor the eating the fruit the first sin; for these were preceded by the tempter and the temptation. The predicate true of this speck of earth is not necessarily true of the universe. There may have been countless million times more sin before Adam than since Adam. And it does not follow because his individual sin, so late in the multifarious history of the universe, has been overruled by God to place men on a higher plane of advantage than the level of mere nature, that, therefore, the first introduction of sin into the universe, or its existence on the whole in the universe,

is for the best good, and *necessary* to the best good, of the great whole. Nay, for aught we can say, the very fact that the existence of sin is a disadvantage to the universe may be the ground of God's turning it into an unthanked occasion of good to our little sphere. At any rate, there is a wide difference between saying that Adam's particular sin was overruled to the best good of a particular sphere, and saying that all sin or the first introduction of sin is necessary to the best good of the universe. The reviewer's assertion that Mr. Wesley maintained the latter because he maintained the former is, therefore, a misrepresentation.

2. Mr. Wesley does not assert that sin in general is for the good even of our human race, but that, specifically, Adam's sin, *as being less than the sins that would otherwise have existed*, was best for the race. Had not Adam sinned, every man, placed on his individual probation without a Saviour, would have perhaps sinned and been damned. Adam's sin and its results are, therefore, better, because the amount of sin and damnation is less. The course of things which his sin initiated, by divine interposition, is better than the natural course of things under the relentless law of works. It is simply saying the less the sin the better. But for this reviewer to quote such statements as affirming the proposition that sin is primordially the necessary means of the best good of the universe, is a "misrepresentation."

3. To affirm that a particular sin is the necessary means in a given state of things of a particular highest good, is not the same as to affirm that sin is primordially necessary to the best good of the universe. Take an illustration. A profligate orphan child is taken up in the streets for theft, and the judge who sentences him to imprisonment, being struck with his abilities, takes him, after his release, and gives him an education. Thereby he is converted, becomes a minister, and is the means of "the highest good" to thousands by their salvation. Now, in the given state of things his theft was a necessary antecedent to this particular highest good. But to declare that such a proposition is equivalent to saying that primordially sin is necessary to the highest good of the universe is, we say, a misrepresentation. Equally a misrepresentation it is to charge such a proposition upon Mr. Wesley, because he affirmed that the particular sin of Adam was conditional to the particular highest good placed by God as sequent to it.

4. This view is confirmed by the fact that Wesley does not affirm that the *final result* is best for our *entire* race, or for a large majority. The good to the finally impenitent, being conditional, *results in evil*; being an aggravation, through their abuse of their "capacity," of



their final guilt and misery. So the highest good is not attained by the whole even of our own province of the universe.

5. Mr. Wesley does not affirm that the atonement, sequent upon Adam's sin, secured a *higher good than some other special interposition might have secured*. He treats the atonement as a divine speciality, over and above the level of mere naturalism; and he argues upon the tacit assumption that without the atonement the world is to proceed upon the level of naturalism. And his comparison lies not between the good produced by this divine interposition of the atonement and the good producible through some other interposition, or some one of a myriad of possible reconstructions, which the exhaustlessness of divine invention might superinduce; but between the good produced by this interposition and the uninterrupted course of the initiated system. He does not deny the possibility of any other interposition. He does not deny the possibility of countless reconstructions. He only argues that the present interposition, even though conditioned by a particular sin, is better than could have been upon the current of the undisturbed system. We submit, therefore, that to impute to him the maxim that sin is necessary to the highest good of the universe, is a palpable misrepresentation.

The necessity of sin to any result, we may add, was not the subject of Mr. Wesley's discussion, but *the justification of God in the permission*, not of sin, but, individually, of *Adam's sin*. On this last subject his amply sufficient argument was, that the atonement system is far superior to a fearful Christless system of works. And that is surely true. On the other subject, the necessity of sin to the world, a new and entirely different chapter would have been opened. There are, then, not merely two alternatives of comparison, but any number. Who knows that the divine wisdom is shut up to these two courses? Who knows, that if Adam had not sinned, and the grand atonement had not been superinduced upon the plane of human things, there were not other and still other possible systems of higher and still higher glory, any one of which might have overlain that level? "God needs not man's sin;" and he is not tied to one or two ways of working out results of good and glory.

And as Mr. Wesley's argument needed but the two suppositions, namely, of the atonement and of Christless nature, so he had a right to paint the latter in its true characteristics in phrases which the reviewer has pompously quoted for a perverting purpose. Without atonement, under the law of works, there would have been a BLANK in our faith, hope, and love; there would have been less trial on earth, and less glory in heaven; atoning love, now the highest arch-

angels' theme, would have been inexistent; and our individual probation might have sunk us all, or nearly all, in hell. Such was his subject, and such his fitting argument. And we confess it moves our indignation to see this reviewer wrench his words from their true subject, and, by a snap judgment, fasten them upon a topic with which they have nothing to do, and extract from them in torn scraps, flaring with italics and capitals, a fictitious opinion upon a foreign question; the question, namely, whether God has not a boundless variety of resources for bringing out an equal or a higher glory besides these two.

On the question, whether Adam's sin was necessary to the best possible system for our own race, Mr. Wesley has not, so far as we know, left any recorded opinion. What "Wesleyan theology" teaches upon this point, however, is conclusively shown by the words of one who was its expounder and defender under the eye and sanction of Wesley himself, Fletcher of Madeley. That Adam's sin was not thus necessary was maintained by Wesleyan theology against its Calvinian opponents, the theological ancestry of this reviewer. The Calvinistic "objection" and the Arminian reply, as given by Fletcher, are as follow:

"OBJECTION SECOND. 'If God had not *necessitated* the fall of Adam, and *secured* his sin, Adam might have continued innocent; and then there would have been no need of Christ and of Christianity. Had Adam stood, we should have been without Christ to all eternity: but believers had rather be born in sin than be Christless: they had rather be sick than have nothing to do with their heavenly Physician, and with the cordials of his sanctifying Spirit.\*"

"ANSWER. . . . To intimate that God necessarily brought about the sin of Adam, in order to make way for the murder of his incarnate Son, is as impious as to insinuate that our Lord impelled the Jews to despise the day of their visitation, in order to secure the opportunity of weeping over the hardness of their hearts. If God necessitated the mischief in order to remedy it, the gratitude of the redeemed is partly at an end; and the thanks they owe him are only of the same kind with such as Mr. Toplady would owe me if I wantonly caused him to break his legs, and then procured him a good surgeon to set them. But what shall we say of the non-redeemed? Those unfortunate creatures whom Mr. Toplady calls 'the reprobate?' Are there not countless myriads of these, according to his unscriptural gospel? And what thanks do these owe the evil Manichean God, who absolutely necessitates them to sin, and absolutely debars them from any saving interest in a Redeemer, that he may send them *without fail* to everlasting burnings? How strangely perverted is the rational taste of Mr. T., who calls the doctrine of absolute necessity, which is big with absolute reprobation, absolute wickedness, and absolute damnation, a comfortable doctrine! a doctrine of grace! May we not expect next to hear him cry up midnight gloom as meridian brightness?"

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\* Mr. F. adds in a note: "Mr. Toplady dares not produce this objection in all its force: he only hints at it. His own words are, p. 130, 'Let me give our free-willers a very momentous hint, namely: that the entrance of original *sin* was one of those *essential links* on which the Messiah's incarnation and crucifixion were suspended.'"

"But to return: if it was *necessary* that Adam should sin in order to glorify the Father, by making way for the crucifixion of the Lamb of God; is it not also necessary that believers should sin in order to glorify God more abundantly by 'crucifying Christ afresh, and putting him again to open shame?' Will they not, by this means, have greater need of their Physician, make a fuller trial of the virtue of his blood, and sing louder in heaven? O how perilous is a doctrine which, at every turn, transforms itself into a doctrine of light, to support the most subtle and pernicious tenet of the Antinomians, 'Let us sin that grace may abound!'"—*Checks*, vol. ii, pp. 403, 404.

Such is the objection, and such the answer. The reviewer will perceive that the dogma which he imputes to "Wesleyan theology" was the dogma of his own Calvinian party, which it was the purpose of "Wesleyan theology" to oppose and destroy. But how does Fletcher show in the same connection that *no individual sin was ever necessary* to the best system? Let the reviewer notice, for the passage will show that while Wesleyan theology could justify the PERMISSION of Adam's sin, on the ground that a higher good has been deduced from it than could have taken place in the unchanged tenor of the system; yet it denies, not merely that Adam's sin has the merit of being NECESSARY to the Almighty in bringing out the best system, or as good a system as the present, consistently with free agency, but that any sin has. By any one of countless interpositions or reconstructions God can bring about the best result without being obligated to any man's sin. Fletcher shows it thus:

"God has ten thousand strings to his providential bow, and ten thousand bridle in his providential hand, to curb and manage free agents, which way soever they please to go; and therefore, to suppose that he has tightly bound all his creatures with cords of absolute necessity, for fear he should not be able to manage them if they had their liberty; to suppose this, I say, is to pour upon Divine Providence the same contempt which a timorous gentleman brings upon himself when he dares not ride a spirited horse any longer than a groom leads him by the bridle, that he may not run away with his unskillful rider.

"If things had not happened one way, they might have happened another way. Supposing, for example, God had absolutely ordered that Solomon should be David's son by Bathsheba; this event might have taken place without his necessitating David to commit adultery and murder. For Providence might have found out means for marrying Bathsheba to David before she was married to Uriah: or God might have taken Uriah to heaven by a fever, and David could legally have married his widow. Again: if neither Caiaphas nor Pilate had condemned our Lord, he could have made his life an offering for sin, by commanding the clouds to shoot a thousand lightnings upon his devoted head, and to consume him as Elijah's sacrifice was consumed on Mount Carmel.

"The pious author of Ecclesiasticus says, with great truth, that 'God has no need of the sinful man.' To suppose that the chain of God's providence would have been absolutely broken if Manasseh or Nero had committed one murder less than they did, is to ascribe to the old murderer and his servants an importance of which Manes himself might have been ashamed. Although God used Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander, and Attila to scourge guilty nations, and to exercise the patience of his righteous servants, he was by no means obliged to use them. For he might have obtained the same ends by the

plague, the famine, or the dreadful ministry of the angel who cut off the first born of the Egyptians, and the numerous army of Sennacherib. I flatter myself that these four answers fully set aside the first objection of the necessitarians."—*Checks*, vol. ii, pp. 402, 403.

II. Did we truly state that certain points claimed as original with Dr. Taylor are contained in Wesleyan theology?

We now take up the question of Dr. Taylor's *discovery of a new method* in theology for explaining the divine permission of sin, claimed for him by this reviewer, and we shall show that Dr. Taylor's method is essentially a reproduction, either by unacknowledged appropriation or by uninformed coincidence, of the Wesleyan theology upon that subject. Our statement was: "Dr. Taylor introduced into Calvinistic theology the Arminian view that the free moral agency, involving the possibility of sin, was necessary to the best universe; yet the actual commission of sin by the moral agent was neither necessary, nor most conducive to the best estate of things. Did the agent always will right, the universe might be better; and yet this may be the best universe in the nature of things possible. The writer, if we understand him, supposes this doctrine to be original with Dr. Taylor." The points of originality claimed for Dr. Taylor are as follow: 1. That sin is never truly beneficial to anybody or anything. 2. A distinction between permission and non-hinderance, or non-prevention. 3. The inviolability of free agency the reason for the non-prevention of sin. 4. Holiness in all cases better than sin instead.

A single extended passage from Fletcher's *Checks* will present every one of these points:

1. Sin is never truly beneficial to anybody or anything:

"Who can wonder at Mr. Toplady saying, ARG. LXXI, p. 96: 'This is a first principle of the Bible, and of sound reason, that *whatever is, is right*, or will answer some great end, etc., in its relation to the whole.'"—Vol. ii, p. 473.

To which Fletcher replies:

"Error is never more dangerous than when it looks a little like truth. But when it is imposed upon the simple as 'a first principle of the Bible and of sound reason,' it makes dreadful work. How conclusively will a rigid Predestinarian reason if he says, '*Whatever is, is right*'; and therefore sin is right. Again, it is wrong to hinder what is right: sin is right, and therefore it is wrong to hinder sin. Once more, we ought to do what is right; and therefore we ought to commit sin.' Now, in opposition to Mr. Toplady's first principle, I assert, as a 'first principle of reason,' that though it was right in God not absolutely to hinder sin, yet *sin is always wrong*. 'O! but God permitted it, and will get himself glory by displaying his vindictive justice in punishing it: for "the ministration of condemnation is glorious."' This argument has deluded many a pious Calvinist. To overthrow it, I need only observe that 'righteousness exceeds condemnation in glory!'

"In what respect is sin right? Can it be right in respect of God, if it brings him less glory than righteousness? Can it be right in respect of man,

if it brings temporal misery upon ALL, and eternal misery upon SOME? Can it be right in respect of the Adamic law, the law of Moses, or the law of Christ? Certainly no; for sin is equally the transgression of all these laws. 'O! but it is right with respect to the evangelical promise.' By no means: for the evangelical promise, vulgarly called the Gospel, testifies of Christ, the destroyer of sin, and offers us a remedy against sin. Now, if sin were right, the Gospel which remedies it, and Christ who destroys it, would be wrong. I conclude, then, that if sin be right neither with respect of God, nor with respect of man; neither with regard to the law, nor with regard to the Gospel; it is right in no shape, it is wrong in every point of view."—Vol. ii, pp. 473, 474.

2. Distinction between permission and non-hindering. The equivalent of Dr. Taylor's distinction between permission and non-prevention:

"But why did God permit it? Indeed, he never properly permitted it, unless Mr. Toplady, who does not scruple to call God 'the permitter of evil,' can prove, that *to forbid*, in the most solemn manner, and under the severest penalty, is the same thing as to *permit*."—Vol. ii, p. 474.

3. The nature of free-agency the reason why God non-prevented sin:

"Should you say, Why did not God *absolutely hinder* sin? I still answer, (1.) Because his wisdom saw that a world where free agents and necessary agents are mixed, is better (all things considered) than a world stocked with nothing but its necessary agents, that is, creatures absolutely hindered from sinning. (2.) Because his distributive justice could be displayed no other way than by the creation of accountable free agents, made with an eye to a day of judgment. (3.) Because it would be as absurd to necessitate free agents, as to bid free agents *be*, that they might *not be free agents*; as foolish as to form *accountable* creatures, that they might *not be accountable*. And, (4.) Because when God saw that the free-agency of his creatures would introduce sin, he determined to overrule it, or remedy it in such a manner as would, upon the whole, render this world, with all the *voluntary* evil and *voluntary* good in it, better than a world of *necessary* agents, where nothing but *necessary* good would have been displayed: an inferior sort of good, this, which would no more have admitted of the exercise of God's political wisdom and distributive justice, than the excellence of stones and fine flowers admits of laws, rewards, and punishments."—Vol. ii, p. 474.

4. Holiness in all cases better than sin instead:

"Should the reader ask how far we may safely go to meet the truth which borders most on Mr. Toplady's false principle, *Whatever is, is right*, I answer, (1.) We may grant, nay, we ought to assert, that God will get himself glory every way. Evangelical grace, and just wrath, minister to his praise, though not equally; and therefore God willeth not primarily the death of his creatures. Punishment is his strange work; and he delights more in the exercise of his remunerative goodness, than in the exercise of his vindictive justice. (2.) Hence it appears that the wrath of man, and the rage of the devil, will turn to God's praise: but it is only to his inferior praise. For though the blessed will sing loud halleluiahs to divine justice, when vengeance shall overtake the ungodly; and though the consciences of the ungodly will give God glory, and testify that he is holy in all his works, and righteous in all his vindictive ways; yet this glory will be only the glory of the ministration of condemnation: a dispensation this, which is inferior to the dispensation of right-

eous mercy. Hence it appears that those who die in their sins would have brought more glory to God by choosing righteousness and life, than they do by choosing death in the errors of their ways. But still, this inferior praise, arising from the condemnation and punishment of ungodly free agents—this inferior praise, I say, mixed with the *superior* praise arising from the justification and rewards of godly free agents, will far exceed the praise which might have accrued to God from the unavoidable obedience and absurd rewards of necessitated agents, of angels and men absolutely bound to obey by a necessitating grace like that which rigid bound-willers preach; were we even to suppose that this forcible grace had Calvinistically caught ALL rational creatures in a net of finished salvation, and had drawn them all to heaven, as irresistibly as ‘Simon Peter drew the net to land full of great fishes, a hundred and fifty and three.’ For before the Lawgiver and Judge of all the earth, the unnecessitated, voluntary goodness of *one angel*, or *one man*, is more excellent than the necessary goodness of a *world of creatures* as unavoidably and passively virtuous, as a diamond is unavoidably and passively bright.”—Vol. ii, pp. 474, 475.

Here the reader will also find Dr. Taylor's three grades of excellence in a system, namely, non-free-agency, free-agency with sin, and free-agency with universal perfect holiness; the last, as we affirmed in our synoptical comment, being held by Wesleyan theology as the most excellent.

Our youthful and uninformed reviewer must now begin to appreciate the magnitude of his mistakes. He will survey, perhaps, with wonder the fact, that principles of divine government which he, in common with the mass of Dr. Taylor's pupils, imagined to be original with their master, and for which they proclaim him “a Newton in theology,” have for a century been embodied in Wesleyan theology; have in past times been patent in the hornbook of every Methodist circuit-rider, and have constituted much of our strength in demolishing Calvinism, antinomianism, and sin.

All his mistakes, however, the reviewer has not yet quite seen—if it be not too lenient to call the following gross and gratuitous “misrepresentation” a mistake. The reviewer says:

“He (Wesley) maintains that God permitted sin, *not* because human freedom rendered it impossible to prevent it; this idea he expressly rejects, in the following terms: ‘It was undoubtedly in his power to prevent it, for he hath all power in heaven and on earth.’”—*The New Englander*, p. 478.

Now Mr. Wesley does affirm that God “had power to prevent” Adam's sin; but the reviewer's addendum, that Mr. Wesley “rejects” the idea that “human freedom rendered it impossible to prevent it” is so much surplusage, unexpressed and unimplied by Wesley, unrequired by his argument, never contained and frequently denied in his various works; and the addendum conveys so much untruth. It plainly imputes to the great Arminian leader one of the prime dogmas of ultra-Calvinism, that God's power does not limit itself by the invio-



lability of free-agency. What right had he to affirm that a power to prevent Adam's sin was the same as "power to prevent" without change of Adam's existence, or free-agency? \* That "God had power to prevent it" the reviewer himself believes just as truly as Mr. Wesley; but does he therefore deny that "human freedom rendered it impossible to prevent it?" It was a fundamental principle of Mr. Wesley's theodicy, expounded by him *passim*, as our extended extract above shows that it was Fletcher's, that it is impossible even for omnipotence arbitrarily to control free-agency. That freedom could not be arbitrarily controlled by power without destroying its nature, is one of the invariable postulates in Wesley's method of defending God's permission of sin. The "power to prevent sin," is not the same as the power to prevent sin without modifying or affecting the free-agency. To interpolate such a dogma into Mr. Wesley's words, by a piece of light-fingered legerdemain, is not an error that needs refutation, but an offense that deserves exposure.

To quote, in the Methodist Quarterly, passages to prove against this "misrepresentation" that Mr. Wesley maintained the doctrine of inviolable free agency, is like quoting passages to prove that Mr. Wesley was a Theist, or an Arminian, or an Englishman. But, in addition to the passage quoted in our synoptical comment, take the following:

'Impossible,' will some men say, 'yea, the greatest of all impossibilities, that we should see a Christian world; yea, a Christian nation or city! How can these things be?' On one supposition, indeed, not only all impossibility, but all difficulty, vanishes away. Only suppose the Almighty to act *irresistibly*, and the thing is done; yea, with just the same ease as when 'God said, Let there be light; and there was light.' But then man would be man no longer; his inmost nature would be changed. He would no longer be a moral agent, any more than the sun or the wind; as he would no longer be endued with liberty—a power of choosing, or self-determination: consequently, he would no longer be capable of virtue or vice, of reward or punishment."—*Sermon on Isa. xi, 9.*

"Indeed, without liberty, man had been so far from being a *free agent*, that he could have been no *agent* at all. For every *unfree being* is purely passive, not active in any degree. Have you a sword in your hand? Does a man, stronger than you, seize your hand, and force you to wound a third person? In this you are no agent, any more than the sword; the hand is as passive as the steel. So in every possible case. He that is not free is not an agent, but a patient.

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° "But *could* not God necessitate free agents to keep the law they are under?" Yes, says Calvinism, for he is endued with infinite power; but Scripture, good sense, and matter of fact, say, No: because, although God is endued with infinite power, he is also endued with infinite wisdom. And it would be as absurd to create free agents in order to *necessitate* them, as to do a thing in order to *undo* it. —*Fletcher's Checks*, vol. ii, p. 440.

"It seems, therefore, that every spirit in the universe, as such, is endued with *understanding*, and, in consequence, with a *will*, and with a measure of *liberty*; and that these three are inseparably united in every intelligent nature. And observe: *liberty necessitated*, or overruled, is really no liberty at all. It is a contradiction in terms. It is the same as *unfree freedom*, that is, downright nonsense.

"It may be farther observed, (and it is an important observation) that where there is no liberty, there can be no moral good or evil, no virtue or vice. The fire warms us, yet it is not capable of virtue; it burns us, yet this is no vice. There is no virtue but where an intelligent being knows, loves, and chooses what is good; nor is there any vice but where such a being knows, loves, and chooses what is evil."—*Sermon on 1 John*, iii. 8. See also *Sermon on 1 Cor.* x, 13.

If, as the reviewer asserts, Mr. Wesley maintains the doctrine charged upon him, that sin is for the best good of the universe, more clearly even than Hopkins, Edwards, or West, then does the reviewer more grossly still misrepresent those worthies than he misrepresents Mr. Wesley. How this is we do not trouble ourselves to inquire. We ignore the task of defending against their Calvinistic assailant those very subtle but very unsound divines. Even if they were clear on this point, their systems are plentifully condemnable for other heresies. But we suspect him to be mistaken in placing them on a level with Wesley. We apprehend that he quotes those divines fairly and correctly. We apprehend that the discourses which he specifies really discussed the subject in question, and that the passages to which he alludes express the sentiment attributed. We apprehend he has not, in their case, wrenched their words from their true application to a false. We have little doubt that those Calvinistic doctors maintained the anti-Wesleyan doctrine that sin is not only useful, but necessary to the best sort of world.

Equally false and more is the level assigned to Wesley in the following passage: "If Wesley then did in some passages testify a high and just appreciation of human freedom, so did Edwards and West of the most decided kind." That Edwards maintained "human freedom," we reply, is just as true as that ebony is topaz. Edwards was a firm, unflinching necessitarian, and necessity is the contradictory of freedom; and every line of Edwards, presupposing, as it does, the truth of his system, is with inflexible consistency on the side of the contradiction of freedom. Will this reviewer pretend that Edwards maintained the doctrine of "the power of contrary choice?" On the contrary, did he not profess to demonstrate that such "power," under the name of "self-determination," is impossible, involving infinities of infinities of absurdities? Did he not

"In words of many a winding bout,  
Of linked sophism long drawn out,"

pretend to expel free-will from possible human thought and from the limits of possible existence? If Edwards and his followers are

the asserters of human freedom, who in all the world and in all history are the deniers? If necessity be not the contradictory of freedom, please tell us what is? If this reviewer knows anything of the rise of Wesleyan Methodism, he knows it took its definite doctrinal shape in a dispute of which a main issue was the existence of "free-will;" that, on the affirmative were Wesley, Fletcher, and Sellon; and on the negative Whitefield, Toplady, and the whole Lady Huntington party, taking Edwards for their stronghold. Wesley and Fletcher maintained foreknowledge and free-will; their Calvinistic opponents maintained foreordination and necessity. Edwards and the great body of New England Calvinists have been with the latter. Whether this Reviewer happens to be aware of it or not, the reality of human freedom is the great point of division between Arminianism and Calvinism. It was in behalf of this reality that Arminius dissented from Gomarus, that Episcopius protested against the Synod of Dort, that Wesley and Fletcher opposed Toplady and Edwards, and that American Methodism has ever taken issue with American Calvinism. Calvinists have uniformly denied free-will, or affirmed a pseudo-freedom, which is bound by necessity or decree, or both. When, then, this reviewer says Wesley "testified in some passages of freedom," he insinuates the falsity that Wesley's maintenance of freedom was not fundamental and uncontradicted, but slight and variable. He could just as sensibly say that Edwards testified "in some passages" of necessity, whereas every theologian knows, or ought to know, that it was a fundamental part of his system, just as the reverse doctrine of freedom was fundamental with Wesley. To the uniform consistency of Edwards we bear willing testimony. Every syllable he ever wrote in relation to the subject is stiff with fatalism. At no moment of his existence did he ever affirm unnecessitated free-will any more than Euclid affirmed that every triangle contains three right angles.

Dr. West did, we believe, exceptionally among New England Calvinists, maintain free will. And upon that point our Reviewer may have heard that West and Edwards were at issue. And yet he couples their names just as if they agreed! Dr. West, like Dr. Taylor, and in opposition to Edwards the fatalist, did maintain "the power of contrary choice." But Dr. West, like Dr. Taylor, if we mistake not, nullified his maintenance of free-will by adopting the doctrine that God foreordains whatsoever comes to pass. He made God's decree hem in the freedom of the agent, so as to render it completely latent, and incapable of moving a single ultimate particle of soul or body. Free-agency thereby was a dead corpse wrapped in an eternal iron shroud.

We now move the question, Is the doctrine that sin is not necessary to the existence of the best possible system, consistent with Dr. Taylor's scheme of theology? We affirm that it is not. We do not charge that Dr. Taylor intentionally held the necessity of any sin to the best good; but we charge that his system, as represented by the reviewer, involves it. On the subject of foreordination the reviewer thus states Dr. Taylor:

"Evil being connected with the system by no necessity of the system itself, and by no connivance of God or preference of it to holiness, not only this providential permission of evil, but the most complete and universal foreordination of it, are explained and vindicated. If sin is to occur, then, as Edwards argues, it is doubtless better that the time and manner of its occurrence should be under the guidance of Infinite Wisdom, in order that this element of evil may be reduced within the narrowest limits. Such arrangements of motives and influences as will most effectually check its spread, and contribute to the recovery of those infected by it, become in the highest degree desirable; and thus the complete foreordination of events, the universality of the divine decrees, stand above all serious objection."—*N. Englander*, vol. xvii, p. 962.

God foreordains, then, every sin. He foreordains not only its limitations, but its particular place and moment of existence. But sin being not a *thing* but an *act*, to foreordain its place and point is to foreordain its commission, its origination in every particular instance, with all its motives, malignities, and atrocities. But foreordination is volition, and God therefore wills every sin just where and when and as it is. And just as he wills it, so is it, on the whole, and, as the nature of men and things is, for the best possible good of the universe. Not only Adam's sin, but every individual sin, just as it is and just where and when it is, is necessary for the best possible good. Otherwise God has willed what is not necessary for the best good of his system. Every transgressor is authorized to say, "I commit just that sin, and at that place and time, which God has determined to be on the whole for the best good of the universe.

Some of the peculiarities of this reviewer, his pedagogue criticisms, his pretenses of misunderstanding our language, and his minute quibbles, are hardly worthy a reference; his real misunderstandings, his claims for his master to imaginary originality, his adventurous "misrepresentations," his imputations upon others of holding doctrines which it was part of their mission and of their system to oppose as held by the reviewer's own theological section, are the *gravamina*, important enough to attract our notice and correction. It is not true, as he asserts, (p. 475,) that Wesley held that "God lays upon his creatures the necessity of resting in lower forms of holiness and happiness, if perfectly obedient, than they may reach by incurring the guilt of sin." It is not true that Wesley affirmed "the fall of man to be indispensable to our highest bless-

edness." (P. 477.) It is not true that Wesleyan theology holds that the sin of Adam was "necessarium," as expressed in the monkish stanza quoted by the reviewer. And as to his closing flourish about "the Romish and the Wesleyan theology," if the reviewer knows as little of the Romish as he does of the Wesleyan doctrines, our friendly advice is that he perform a full Pythagorean novitiate of silence and study before he hazards any farther public utterances concerning either.

#### ART. X.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

##### GREAT BRITAIN.

**The Protestant Churches.**—THE REFORMATORY AGITATIONS IN THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH are growing more numerous than ever. As they proceed from opposing parties, they not rarely counteract each other. But it is easily observable how the aspects of the Church gradually change, and we think it may be predicted, with a high degree of probability, in what direction the further development of the Church will take place. It is especially the RELATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE that is constantly undergoing great changes. Though great difference of opinion still prevails with regard to an entire separation between Church and State, the current of public opinion is, at all events, strongly in favor of giving to the Church a greater amount of self-government. THE CONVOCATION of the Province of Canterbury, which met again on June 7, is awakening a greater interest, because it begins to occupy itself with more important questions, and speaks out on them with greater decision. The Association for reviving the Convocation of the Province of York, which had given up the hope of attaining its end during the lifetime of the late archbishop, is now renewing its efforts with better prospects of success, and the Irish Episcopalians are beginning to claim likewise the privilege of having a convocation. With a view to strengthening the position of the Episcopal Church in Great Britain, a memorial to the prime minister has been extensively signed, praying for an INCREASE OF BISHOPS, inasmuch as the number of bishops in England, since the middle of the sixteenth century, has increased only by one, while the population within the last fifty years has more than doubled. The scheme

was said to be pushed in particular by the High-Church party, yet the *Union* (the Romanizing paper of London) ridiculed the idea of entreating a minister of the State as the best way of expediting an ecclesiastical reform. The number of colonial and missionary bishops continues in the meanwhile to increase, and the constitution of the Episcopal Church, outside of England, is evidently tending to develop in a monarchical direction. After the precedents of Australia, New Zealand, and India, Canada also has received a metropolitan, who has in the main the rights and duties of an English archbishop. The idea of sending missionary bishops beyond the British possession so charms the zealous Churchmen that already another scheme of this kind has been devised for South Africa, and others are expected soon to follow. Not only an extension, but also a closer UNION OF THE SEVERAL BRANCHES OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCHES of Great Britain is taken into consideration. The Bishop of Exeter has recently employed a former Scotch bishop, Dr. Trower of Glasgow, to act as his suffragan, and has conferred on him the sub-deanery in his cathedral; and the Bishop of Argyle and the Isles recently managed to assemble at London the most numerous and influential body of bishops, clergy, and laity ever brought together, to consider the welfare of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Armagh, and five English bishops, were present, and letters of regret and sympathy were read from seven other bishops. THE PARLIAMENT has had to deal, as usual, with a number of Church matters. The most important of them was a clause in the Census Bill which required an enumeration of the religious profession of the people. The opposition of the dissenting

bodies to this clause proved so strong that the ministers, though reluctantly, gave it up. A bill introduced by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to economize the funds of the Church and make them more generally useful, was not likely to pass; while another bill, introduced by the Bishop of London, for uniting benefices in cities like London, where the population has crowded toward the suburbs, has better chances. THE SPREADING OF RATIONALISM, in a very advanced form, among the clergy of the Established Church, is likely to prove soon a prolific source of great trouble. The *Christian Observer* of London tries to prove that the doctrines of Theodore Parker, Francis Newman, and the latest volume of the Oxford Essays, are essentially the same.

THE WESLEYAN DISTRICT RETURNS in England and Wales show a net increase of 17,534 members, the largest increase ever made in one year, except in 1833. In Ireland upward of 3,000 members were added, chiefly in the northern districts, where the revival prevailed. A case of great importance for the BAPTISTS has been recently decided by the Master of the Rolls. The substance of it is, that a Baptist congregation does not lose its right to its endowments by change from Particular to General Baptists, or from close to open communion. Among the INDEPENDENTS new doctrinal dissensions have broken out in consequence of a work published by a Congregational minister of London, Mr. Brown, some of the religious papers designating it as heretical, others defending its orthodoxy.

**The Roman Catholic Church.**—The Parliament occupied itself with the ROMAN CATHOLIC CHARITIES BILL, a measure which professed to bring Roman Catholic charities under the inspection of the Charity Commissioners, but which, on examination, proved to make so many exceptions in favor of the power of the Roman hierarchy that it was warmly opposed, and would in all probability fall through. In Ireland a BLOODY CONFLICT between Roman Catholics and Orangemen took place near the town of Lurgan. An Orange procession was attacked by the inhabitants of a village through which their road lay. Having recourse to fire-arms, they soon repelled the assailants and wounded several, two of whom have since died. Many leading Protestant papers strongly condemned, on this occasion, the continuance of the Orange processions as being an irritation to the men of the rival Church.

#### GERMANY.

**The Protestant Churches.**—THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH is still the great question in Germany. The Prussian government is bent on introducing a Presbyterian constitution into the six eastern provinces, whose congregations have been hitherto governed exclusively by the pastor and the aristocratic patron; and this being carried through, nearly all the evangelical State Churches of Germany may be set down as Presbyterian, similar in many points to the Established Church of Scotland. At the Berlin Pastoral Conference, which is entirely under the influence of Stahl and Hengstenberg, and was this year again presided over by Stahl, an attempt was made to hinder the introduction of the new constitution. A petition was got up, signed by thirty-six members of the Conference, and presented to the Supreme Church Council, praying, 1. That in the circular of the Church Council the eldership in the Church should not be represented as an ordinance founded on the revelation of God, but resting merely on the command of the highest bishop of the land; 2. That the eldership should have no power except in mere temporal matters; and lastly, that the pastor should not be obliged to use the form of prayer which prescribes thanksgiving for the institution of the eldership. In the reply, dated June 29, the Supreme Court shows its firm resolve not to swerve from its course; yet, to avoid compulsion, it gives permission to the pastor to omit, in the formula for the ordination of elders, the form of thanksgiving. Since, the introduction of the constitution has commenced with good prospects, the High-Church party abandoning their opposition. THE EXCITEMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTS, on account of their new Church constitution, has now mostly subsided, as the government has relinquished the obnoxious patent of September 1, 1859, by declaring those districts which continue to oppose it free from its requirements, and by binding only the districts which had given in their adhesion to abide by it. The final solution of the constitutional question is now adjourned until the meeting of the General Synod, which the government has promised soon to convoke. In Southwestern Germany the conflict respecting alterations in the constitution and administration of the Church, is essentially a CONFLICT BETWEEN THE EVANGELICAL AND RATIONALISTIC PARTIES, in which the former enjoys generally the support



of the governments. In the Bavarian Palatinate it is the introduction of a new orthodox hymn book which causes continuing troubles. The King of Bavaria supports the decisions of the Synod, but a vast body of the people oppose obstinately. In Hesse-Darmstadt it is the substitution of Luther's Catechism for one long in use in the schools, which proves an apple of discord. The old Catechism did not enjoy the estimation of the "believing" portion of the Hessian clergy, who prefer by far a return to the old Lutheran, though the evangelical school would have preferred the selection of one representing the views of the United Evangelical Church. In Baden a number of influential clergymen and laymen, mostly belonging to the Rationalistic party, have repeatedly held conferences at Durlach, to bring their views on Church constitution into a definite shape. They would leave to the grand duke his character as supreme bishop, but demand that the governing powers emanate from the body of the Protestant population, that ministers and church officers be elected by the people, that in the Synod lay and clerical members be equal, and that the president of the Supreme Church Council be always a layman. Thus the connection between Church and State is more and more a source of annoyance to the former, many of whom will be glad to rid themselves of it by giving to the Church a greater amount of Church government. A BODY OF MILLENARIANS in Wurtemberg, calling themselves the Society for Gathering God's Faithful People in Jerusalem, have broken off all connection with the State Church, and hold their own Synods in Wurtemberg. They are earnest supporters of the Evangelical Alliance, but too intolerant against the evangelical men who remain in the State Church. They have organized a colony on a little farm, in accordance with their peculiar views, which they intend afterward to convey to Jerusalem. Their number, however, is not increasing. They have recently sent a deputation to England, and it was their intention to convene a meeting of all true Christians in London.

#### **The Roman Catholic Church.—**

REFORMATORY MOVEMENTS are still reported to agitate to a large extent the lower clergy of Bohemia, which celebrates this year the millennial commemoration of the introduction of Christianity. It is intended to demand that there may be reestablished in Bohemia the primitive ritual and

liturgy, which were introduced by Saints Cirillus and Methodius, but at a later period renounced by the Church of Rome. THE CONCORDAT WITH BADEN has been rejected by the upper house of that country as well as by the lower, and may thus be regarded as solemnly and deliberately rejected by all the classes of the population. The Catholic party felt greatly disappointed in seeing the high aristocracy vote this way. A large number of the parish priests memorialized the archbishop in order to express their concurrence in his views of the Concordat as a legal treaty actually binding upon all the subjects of the grand duke. The Roman Catholic journals misrepresented this as a unanimous support of the archbishop by the lower clergy, not a single member dissenting; but a few weeks later they had to record the pronouncing of the greater excommunication over one of the deans who refused to indorse the policy which the archbishop chooses to pursue in this question.

#### **SCANDINAVIA.**

**The Protestant Churches.**—THE PROGRESS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY in all the three Scandinavian kingdoms is very cheering, and awakens the hope that Northern Europe, like North America, will soon be free from legalized ecclesiastical despotism. In Sweden the three conservative houses of the Diet, the nobles, the priests, and the peasants, have given their consent to the governmental bill, which repeals some of the worst provisions of the old code respecting secession from the State Church. The burghers rejected the bill as being not liberal enough. The government executes the new law, on the whole, in a liberal sense, and it is regarded doubtless that during the next year Sweden will advance farther toward religious liberty. Norway, which has long ago extended religious toleration to dissenters, has declared itself, through its legislature, willing to open all the State offices to the members of the dissenting denominations. A majority of the Storting (lower branch of the legislature) voted in favor of this motion; but as a few votes were wanting to the two thirds majority, the question stands adjourned for three years, when the next Storting will doubtless decide it in favor of religious liberty. Denmark, lastly, is still farther advanced than Norway, and claims from the government the entire separation between the Church and State. The present diet is again occupied with the ques-

tion, and numerous petitions have been coming in its support. Besides the religious liberty question is the CONTINUANCE OF THE GREAT REVIVAL, which is drawing the attention of the Christian world specially to Sweden. Copious and cheering information concerning it is given from month to month by "The Messenger," a monthly periodical, issued by the *Evangelical National Association*, and conducted by talented men of evangelical convictions. The work is the more remarkable from the length of time during which it has continued at its intensity. THE CAUSE OF FOREIGN MISSIONS will be greatly promoted throughout Scandinavia by the organization of a Central Danish Missionary Society, which was resolved upon by a missionary conference held at Nyborg, in Funen, on the 13th and 14th of June. The meeting was very largely attended. Upward of one tenth of the whole members of the Danish clergy, and a great number of laymen, took part in it. The principal object of the conference was to unite all Danish Christians who take an interest in foreign missions, who hitherto have worked, through a number of smaller societies, into one general Danish Society. All the speakers warmly supported the project except one, and a number of important resolutions, besides the organization of the Society, were passed; for example, that endeavors should be made to awaken public zeal in the cause of missions by frequently holding missionary meetings throughout the country; that every year a general missionary meeting should be held, and that as soon as possible a Danish missionary school should be established.

#### FRANCE.

**The Protestant Churches.**—THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES has adopted a resolution which cannot fail to excite a most painful impression in the Protestant world, and which may yet exercise a highly disastrous influence on the civil rights of French Protestants. Last year a Protestant gendarme refused to kneel, in compliance with the military command, in a church when the host was elevated. A similar legislation existed in other Roman Catholic states, and some years ago most of the Roman Catholic deputies of Bavaria helped the Protestants faithfully to have the military code so changed that an act so revolting to Protestant feeling should no longer be demanded from them. The

Central Council of the Reformed Churches has estimated in this case the natural rights of the Protestant citizen and soldier lower than the Roman Catholics of Bavaria. They have blamed the resistance of the gendarme, pointing out that it was his duty to obey orders. They think that the honors which are rendered to the "Holy Sacrament," according to the regulations, do not imply any idea of adoration upon the part of Protestant soldiers, who, in the fulfillment of a service upon which they are ordered, are obliged to share in it; that, therefore, the kneeling is an act of pure military obedience. The French Protestants, we understand, think generally on this point very differently, and we hope they will vindicate their right in spite of the Central Council. The occasional mismanagement of this board does not arrest THE PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM. In Paris the Reformed Church has been organizing her field of labor by dividing the recently extended city into new parochial districts. The flourishing Church of Lyons reports that sixty-three persons have been added to the Church during the year, chiefly converts from the Church of Rome. The schools are also well attended, and the work among the military is making progress.

**The Roman Catholic Church.**—THE INCREASE OF MONASTICISM in France formed, in July, the subject of an animated and interesting discussion of the French Senate. M. Dupin, Procureur-General at the Court of Cassation, gave some official statements on the present condition of French monasticism, which created quite a sensation among the senators. "At the present epoch," he said, "there are many more congregations, associations, religious establishments of every nature and denomination than there were under the *ancien régime*. There exist now in France 4,932 religious congregations, authorized by the government, and 2,870 congregations not authorized. These associations have acquired immense property. They possess, for example, more than 100,000,000 francs in territorial estates, houses, etc. Besides this they have government securities and railway shares to unknown amounts. There is an enormous mass of wealth concentrated in the hands of these monastic orders, and which is increasing from day to day." M. Dupin demanded that three ministers—those of the interior, of justice, and of worship—should be requested to take measures against the progress of the religious con-

gregations. The cardinals who are senators attacked the conclusions of M. Dupin, and the senate compromised by referring to the minister of worship the petition which had provoked the discussion.

**The Israelites.**—A "UNIVERSAL ISRAELITE ALLIANCE" has been formed in Paris, intended to embrace the whole world. The object is to bind the Jews together so as to promote their general emancipation and progress. This alliance will tend to foster a feeling of unity among the Jews, and may lead to important consequences. There has been among the Jews of our days, for many years, a movement toward Moses; many are putting away orthodox Rabbism, and taking Moses for their guide and the prophets for their example, and they are reforming their worship. The feeling of the French Jews toward Christianity is, moreover, far from being hostile. A proof of this was given very recently by their eagerness to follow the noble call of Mr. Cremieux, one of their members, and in 1848 a member of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, to subscribe liberally in favor of their Christian brethren now persecuted in Syria.

#### ITALY.

**The Protestant Churches.**—THE SYNOD OF THE WALDENSEANS met this year at a momentous point of time. A large majority of all the voters in the liberated provinces had demanded annexation to that Italian state which has now for longer than ten years patronized so nobly the cause of religious liberty. Instead of the groans of persecution, the Synod heard this year the most urgent calls for immediate spiritual aid. In consideration of these calls the Synod passed unanimously the important resolution to remove their "Theological College" from its retired situation at La Tour, in the valleys, to Florence, which is more and more becoming the great center of all Protestant movements in Italy. It was also resolved to establish a new Committee for Evangelization, separate from the old Table or Administrative Board, in order to carry on the work of evangelization more efficiently than hitherto. Yet already, hitherto, the Waldensean Church has had more evangelists and agents at work beyond its own limits, in proportion to its numbers, than any other Christian Church. Four additional colporteurs were added to the staff at work during

the month of July, supported from Scotland. One of these, appointed to labor in the Val d'Aosta, was set upon by two men in the neighborhood of Aosta within the last month, beaten in the most barbarous manner, and left for dead on the road. MANY CHEERING REPORTS are received from various quarters. At Florence a new Protestant school for Italian girls has been opened. In Pisa the Vaudois Church, under the direction of M. Ribet, is succeeding admirably, the hall in which they worship being always quite full on Sundays. The Tuscan *Monitore*, the government organ, has stated in two successive articles that the Vaudois had full permission to build churches for themselves.

**The Roman Catholic Church.**—THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPE is rapidly waning. The reimposition of "St. Peter's Pence," so pompously announced by the Roman Catholic press, and heralded with such ostentation by the priesthood, has produced very little. The pontifical treasury remained empty, and the head of the Church was reduced, like other monarchs, to the necessity of borrowing money from persons who are willing to lend. The bishops of all countries have received instructions to plead warmly on behalf of this loan, and they have fulfilled their mission of financiers with marvelous eagerness. In some countries, as in Spain, *plenary indulgences* have been promised to the lenders in addition to the annual interest of five per cent. THE AUTHORITY OF THE BISHOPS must have received a severe blow by the summary way in which the Sardinian government deals with those who refuse obedience to the laws. Quite a number of the prelates have been condemned to imprisonment and fined. It is to be regretted, however, that Sardinia occasionally exacts obedience from priests in matters essentially ecclesiastical, such as the singing of *Te Deums*, in which a secular government ought never to interfere. For the same reason we regret that Garibaldi has seen fit to expel the Jesuits from Sicily. It is a bad precedent, of which the enemies of religious liberty will be eager to make use.

#### SWITZERLAND.

**The Protestant Churches.**—THE ANNIVERSARIES OF FRENCH SWITZERLAND, held toward the close of June, at Geneva, command special attention on account of the two vast missionary fields which these societies cultivate, Italy and France. The

real wants of both can be and are more freely discussed on the free soil of Protestant Switzerland than within their own borders, where the influence of the priests is still powerful enough to require the greatest caution in language as well as in action. The reports of the societies present many incidents of great interest. A letter from M. de Sanctis mentioned, with regret, that the work was not progressing so favorably in Piedmont. In the new Italian provinces it had been commenced and promised well. The report of the "Society for Aid to Protestants scattered Abroad" disclosed the astonishing fact that of the eighty-nine French departments there were twenty-five without a pastor, and fifteen with only one. The meeting of the Evangelical Alliance reported on the preparation for the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance to be held in Geneva in 1861. The Council of State of Geneva had announced that it would welcome the meeting, and would lend every assistance; the ecclesiastical authorities of the National and of the Free Churches had answered favorably, and the circular had been well received everywhere and published in the religious journals of many different countries.

#### TURKEY.

**Outburst of Mohammedan Fanaticism.**—We have repeatedly had occasion, in former numbers of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, to refer to the profound irritation which has been spreading for years throughout the Mohammedan world against Christianity. The Christian nations began to fear that the outburst of Mohammedan fanaticism in India, in the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and at Djeddah in Arabia would be followed by others equally or even more atrocious. These fears, as our readers already know, have recently become a sad reality. A massacre of Christians of all denominations has taken place in Syria, more general in extent and more atrocious in its character than any other recorded in the history of the many religious wars in that country. The original perpetrators of these outrages were not Mohammedans but Druses, who have a religion of their own. But it is the sympathy and the assistance of the Mohammedan authorities and population to which the enormities of the Syrian massacre must be mainly ascribed. For the present the Christian Churches of Syria are nearly rooted out. The native Christians and the flourishing

congregations planted by American missionaries have equally suffered. Many thousand Christians of both sexes have been slaughtered, thirty thousand women sold to the Turkish harems, and nearly all the rest of the Christian population scattered and stripped of their property. The account of this extraordinary massacre has made, as was to be expected, a profound sensation throughout the Christian world. Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Greek nations vie with each other in contributing aid for the Christian sufferers, and even the Jews have hastened to show their abhorrence of such acts by cordially joining this philanthropic movement. The governments of Europe, without distinction of creed, have agreed upon an armed intervention to check the fanaticism of the Turks. But, in the mean while, the agitation among the Mohammedans continues, and there is no room for the hope that the return of equally murderous scenes can be avoided, unless the Christian governments prevent it by an efficient protection of the Christian population of Turkey.

**The Eastern Churches.**—THE RESIGNATION OF THE GREEK PATRIARCH of Constantinople is an event of rather frequent occurrence in Turkey, but under the present circumstances it is of greater importance than formerly, for in the election of his successor the entire Church will for the first time take part, through its chosen representatives. THE BULGARIANS are maturing the preparations for cutting off altogether their ecclesiastical connection with the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Bulgarian Archbishop of Constantinople has left out in the liturgy the common prayers for the patriarch, and, being summoned before a Church Council, at which the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were present, he declared that his nation were determined to have no longer anything to do with Greek priests, and that he could do nothing except exhorting the Bulgarians to remain faithful to the orthodox faith.

#### RUSSIA.

**The Greek Church.**—The hope of the Christian world, that the government of the present emperor would inaugurate an ERA OF THOROUGH RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL REFORMS, will not be doomed to disappointment. Important intelligence has been received respecting this point during the past months. Provisions have

been recently made for a vernacular edition of the Holy Scriptures, to replace the Slavonic version now in use. At the coronation of the Emperor Alexander, when most of the Russian archbishops assembled at Moscow, it was decided that all the theological academies, as well as all the representatives of theological science, should be appealed to to concur in this important work. The first portion of the new translation has already made its appearance. Measures like these cannot fail to tie a bond of union between the Eastern Episcopal and the Protestant Churches. We expect the same result from the liberality of the Russian government in defraying the expenses of the publication of the newly discovered Sinaitic manuscript of the New Testament. It will promote theological science in the Russian Church, and bring it into closer contact with the neighboring Protestant countries. To the same end will tend the transformation of the ecclesiastical semin-

aries into theological faculties to be connected with the universities. While better theological schools and more thorough theological science will gradually train for the Church a better clergy, the establishment of Sunday-schools will be instrumental in penetrating the laity with a new interest in religion. The non-Greek denominations are thankful to the emperor for abrogating the intolerant law which forbade the reception of Pagans, Mohammedans, and Jews into any of the Churches except the State Church. A new law on toleration, which was submitted to the Council of the State, has been adopted. It still contains many intolerant provisions; for example, it subjects to punishment persons who found new sects, and orders the seceders from the State Church to be sent to the ecclesiastical authorities to be instructed and persuaded. But, nevertheless, it marks a transition to a better state of things than the one now abandoned.

## ART. XI.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

### I. ENGLAND.

#### 1. Religious and Theological.

Quakerism Past and Present: being an Inquiry into the Causes of its Decline in Great Britain and Ireland. By John Stevenson.

The Peculium, an Endeavor to throw Light on some of the Causes of the Decline of the Society of Friends, especially in regard to its Original Claim of being the peculiar People of God. By Thomas Hancock.

These books undertake to answer an inquiry which properly awakens a considerable interest in the thoughtful mind.

Williams and Norgate, London, publish in the original languages the following:

The critical edition of Hyppolitus, with a Latin translation and Notes. Baron Bunsen, in his work on this newly discovered volume, affirms that it doubles our information concerning the Christianity of those primitive times. Also,

Fasciculus first of a new edition of Eusebius, edited by Læmmer. Also,

Vol. I of the Opera of Epiphanius, edited by Dindorf.

#### 2. Biography.

In Biography a Life of Cavour, an Autobiography of Leigh Hunt, are published.

The Life of Schleiermacher, as unfolded in his Autobiography and Letters, translated from the German, in two volumes, with a portrait, is published by Smith, Elder, & Co., London. The letters amount to 460.

Memoirs, Letters, and Speeches of Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury, published by Murray.

#### 3. Scientific.

Dr. Whewell has published a volume On the Philosophy of Discovery, Chapters Historical and Critical.

Professor Owen's work on Paleontology is confessedly an able but not systematic work. It treats mainly of vertebrate organisms. On the mode of the *creations* in the successive periods he is reserved. He enigmatically enunciates, as "perhaps the most important and significant result of paleontological research," "the establishment of the axiom of the continuous operation of the ordained becoming of living

things." He favors, on the whole, the view of "a continuously operative secondary creational law."

## II. GERMANY.

### 1. Exegetical Theology.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that the entire exegetical literature of the past three months is on the orthodox side. We have not noticed among the new announcements a single book of the other—the rationalistic school. The names of the authors are mostly new in this province of theological literature.

Rev. C. W. Otto, for many years a leading man among the High-Church Lutherans in Germany, has published "New Researches on the Historical Relations of the Pastoral Epistles." (*Die geschichtlichen Verhältnisse der Pastoral Briefe auf's Neue untersucht.* Leipzig, 1860. Trubner, pp. 407.) The author has had recently the degree of D.D. conferred on him by the Theological Faculty of Leipzig, and he offers the above work to the faculty as a token of his gratitude. The author designates the work as the fruit of many years' studies. It was his desire to obtain clear views on the differences which determined the form of the doctrinal development of the Biblical theology, especially as contained in the Epistles of Paul. He found much valuable information in the copious recent literature on the Pauline Epistles, but neither the hypothesis of a difference between the Petrine and Pauline Theology, nor the assumed opposition between the Jewish-Christian and Pagan-Christian elements in the early Church gave him sufficient light. This led to a determination to investigate the whole subject anew. The author became convinced that the diverse doctrines professedly pointed out in the New Testament ought to be derived not from two opposing but from one common source. The greatest difficulty to the carrying through of this view was found in the Pastoral Epistles, and they were therefore selected as a fit subject for a special work. Three books are severally devoted to the three pastoral epistles; the introduction gives a survey over the whole literature, the expressions peculiar to the Pastoral Epistles, and over the views of the commentators respecting the time when these epistles were written. An appendix contains the testimonies of the first and second centuries for the authenticity of the Pastoral Letters and copious indexes.

The Prophecies of Zechariah have found a new commentator in W. Neumann. (*Die Weissagungen des Sakharjah.* Stuttgart, 1860.) The obscure prophecies appear to him as words of the people of God struggling with the approaching ruin. An extensive introduction treats of the peculiarities which distinguish Zechariah from other prophetic books, and which are analogous to the person and the tribe of Joseph; he portrays the times in which and for which the prophet speaks, and delineates the personal character of the prophet. Then follow a German translation of the prophecies and the commentary. The book is divided into four divisions: The Prophet's Vocation (i, 1-6); Seven Night-Visions (i, 7—vi, 15); Addresses to the People (vii and viii); and The Completion of the Future of Israel (ix to xiv).

### 2. Historic Theology.

Among the most important works on the history of the Popes belongs the History of Alexander III., and of the Church of his Times, by H. Reuter, Professor of Protestant Theology at the University of Griefswaldt. It is now publishing in a second thoroughly revised edition, to be completed in three volumes, the first of which has just been issued. The completion of the work is announced for 1861. (*Geschichte Alexander des Dritten.* Leipzig, 1860.)

The excellent edition of the complete works of Melancthon, which was commenced by the late Dr. Bretschneider, and has been continued by Dr. Bindseil, has been completed with vol. xxviii, on the tercentenary of the death-day of the great reformer. This last volume contains, as an appendix, *Annales Vitæ Melancthonis*, and indexes, which are sold separately, also. This collective edition of the works of Melancthon was intended by Dr. Bretschneider as the first part of a comprehensive collection of the Works of the Reformers, under the title *Corpus Reformatorum*.

Professor C. F. Baur, the learned leader of the negative school of German Theology, has revised and enlarged his work on the Christian Church of the first Three Centuries, which was first published in 1853. The bold and defiant assertions of the neological school have called forth throughout the Protestant world an extraordinary zeal in the investigation of ancient Church history, and have, much against the originators of the movement, so strongly fortified the position of the orthodox theology that



more than one of the prominent advocates of the school has, by means of his investigations, gradually returned to the views of the evangelical school. The master, however, still adheres to his former opinions, and endeavors, in this new edition, to make the results of all the detailed investigations of the last year serviceable to the support of his assumptions.

John Melchior Goeze was one of the last defenders, in the eighteenth century, of orthodox theology against the powerful and, at last, overwhelming onset of German rationalism and skepticism. Unfortunately his chief opponent was Leasing, to whom, in point of talent and scientific attainments, Goeze, as well as all of his German cotemporaries, was vastly inferior. Goeze had in the controversy the nickname of "Inquisitor of Hamburg" fastened upon him, and is generally represented as such in the history of German literature. A young talented writer, G. R. Roefe, has published a new biography of Goeze, (Johann Melchior Goeze. Hamburg, 1860,) in which he undertakes to show that Goeze was better than his reputation. He calls him the "most calumniated" man of the eighteenth century, the last resolute advocate of ecclesiastical orthodoxy and of Christian truth against a race which became more and more estranged from it. The book is spoken of by the evangelical journals of Germany as very able.

The literary controversy on the celebration of the Passover in the ancient Church is not yet ended. A number of articles have appeared in the quarterlies of the last years. On the part of the Tübingen school, it is especially Professor Hilgenfeld, the editor of the "Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie," who has furnished a series of articles on the subject. He has recently published the result of his researches in book form, under the title of, *The Passover Controversy of the Ancient Church. (Pascha Streit der alten Kirche. Halle, 1860.)*

The Roman Catholic literature in the department of historic theology presents likewise some interesting works, among which we mention: the fourth volume of the General History of the Councils, by

Professor Hefele, of Tübingen; a biography of John Tocher, Bishop of Rochester, one of the foremost advocates of the Papal cause in England at the time of Henry VIII.; a work on the States of the Church, by Scharpff, formerly Professor of the University of Giessen; a "Year-book of the Catholic Church," giving statistical information on all Roman Catholic dioceses and all monastic orders.

### 3. Other Branches of Theology.

The Manual of Systematic Theology, by K. Hahn, has recently appeared in a fifth edition. (Hahn, *Evangelisch-Protestantische Dogmatik*, fifth edition. Leipzig, 1860.) The author is Superintendent-General of the United Evangelical Church of Prussia in Silesia, and is one of the most influential opponents of rationalism. The later edition of his work has been, however, greatly influenced by the progress of High Church Lutheranism in Germany, toward which the author himself is leaning.

The life and influence of Schleiermacher still occupy the attention of German theologians of all schools to a large extent. A collection of letters, forming to some extent an autobiography, which was published about eighteen months ago, has been so well received that already a second edition has appeared. (*Aus Schleiermacher's Leben. Berlin, 1860.*)

One of the Protestant theologians of Austria, T. Ritz, has commenced the publication of *Sketches from the Pagan World, (Bilder aus der Heidenwelt*, first number. Vienna, 1860,) which have a special interest, inasmuch as the Protestant Churches have hitherto taken no part whatever in the foreign mission cause, and do not yet publish a single missionary paper. In the other German countries the missionary literature is very numerous. Among recent works of the kind we notice a History of the Christian Missions in the Fiji Islands, published by the Methodist Book Concern at Bremen, and a biography of the Great East Indian Missionary, C. F. Schwartz, by the venerable G. H. von Schubert, whose recent death has deprived Germany of one of her noblest literary men.

## ART. XII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

- I. THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. The Prayers for Infants in the Apostolical Constitutions: 2. Our English Dictionaries: 3. The Early Life and Conversion of Augustine: 4. Evil made Subservient to Good: 5. Roman Orthodoxy: 6. The Defense of Socrates: 7. Rawlinson's Historical Evidences.
- II. THE NEW ENGLANDER, August, 1860.—1. A Hymn and its Author: 2. Reflex Benefits of the Clerical Office—A Letter from a Country Clergyman to his Desponding Brethren: 3. The New Planets: 4. The Baptists in Connecticut: 5. The Fine Arts: Their Proper Sphere, and the Sources of Excellence therein: 6. The Congregational Polity and a Biblical Theology: 7. Constitutional History of Athenian Democracy: 8. Original Sin: The State of the Question: 9. A Half Century of Foreign Missions: 10. The Princeton Review on Dr. Taylor, and the Edwardean Theology: 11. Dr. Dutton's Discourse Commemorative of Charles Goodyear, the Inventor.
- III. THE PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. Anterevolutionary History of Episcopacy: 2. Russia: 3. Vincent Ferrara: 4. The General Assembly of 1860: 5. Dr. Bushnell's Sermons: 6. The Position and Mission of our Church: 7. Doctrinal Preaching.
- IV. THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. The Bible and Politics: 2. Commentary on the Gospel of John: 3. The Atonement of Christ: 4. Genealogy of the Saviour: 5. Serpent Fascination: 6. The Rival Dictionaries.
- V. THE EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. Melancthon on the Divine Nature: 2. The Ministerial Office: 3. Our Want and our Duty: 4. The Prayer-meeting: 5. Baccalaureate Address: 6. Israel under the Second Great Monarchy: 7. Exposition of Revelation ii, 17.
- VI. THE MERCERSBURG REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. Goethe: A Dissertation by Doctor Rauch: 2. Infant Salvation: 3. The Closing Chapters of the Book of Job: The Divine Sovereignty: 4. Dogmatic Theology: Its Conception, Sources, and Method: 5. Scientific Discovery in 1859.
- VII. THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. The Westminster Review on "Christian Revivals:" 2. The Pastoral Duties of Ruling Elders: 3. 2d Maccabees xii, 39-45, and Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead: 4. A Supernatural Revelation Necessary: 5. The Knowledge of God as obtained from Scripture and from Nature: 6. The General Assembly of 1860.
- VIII. BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, July, 1860.—1. The Missionary Spirit of the Psalms and Prophets: 2. The Nature of Evangelical Faith: 3. Boardman's Higher Christian Life: 4. Scriptural Evidence of the Deity of Christ: 5. The Theology of Sophocles: 6. The Apostle Paul, a witness for the Resurrection of Jesus: 7. The Modern Greek Language.
- IX. THE AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, August, 1860.—1. President Willard's Body of Divinity: 2. Jansenism and the Jansenists: 3. English Lexicography: 4. Moses and the Geologists: 5. The Spiritual in Man the Proper Object of Pulpit Address: 6. Natural History: 7. Kurtz's Church History.

- X. THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. New Edition of the Septuagint: 2. Landscape Gardening: 3. Hawks's History of North Carolina: 4. James Gates Percival: 5. Slavery in Rome: 6. Jefferson's Private Character: 7. Margaret Fuller Ossoli: 8. Strauss and the Mythic Theory: 9. Charities of Boston: 10. Influence of Political Economy on Legislation: 11. Recent French Literature: 12. Ugo Foscolo.
- XI. QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, July, 1860.—1. Milton and his Recent Critics: 2. Dr. Adam Clarke: 3. Philosophy of Representation: 4. Hymns and Hymn Writers: 5. The Greek Tragic Drama: 6. Sasnett's Discussions.
- XII. UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY AND GENERAL REVIEW, July, 1860.—17. The Religion of Zoroaster: 18. The Development of Language: 19. The Man, Christ Jesus: 20. Did Jesus sanction the Jewish Belief in regard to the Devil? 21. Whittemore's Modern History of Universalism.
- XIII. THE FREEWILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY, July, 1860.—1. Inspiration: 2. The Two Covenants: 3. The Revival in Ireland: 4. Forces in the Formation of Character: 5. Universalism: 6. Advantages and Disadvantages of a Permanent Pastorate: 7. Webster's and Worcester's Dictionaries.
- XIV. THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. The Bible its own Witness and Interpreter: 2. The Heathen Inexcusable for their Idolatry: 3. Theories of the Eldership: 4. Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy of the Conditioned: 5. The General Assembly: 6. Presbyterianism.
- XV. THE THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY JOURNAL, July, 1860.—1. Sir William Hamilton's Metaphysics: 2. Memorial of Joel Jones, LL.D.: 3. Theories Erroneously called Science, and Divine Revelation: 4. The Apostasy and the Man of Sin: 5. Darwin on the Origin of Species: 6. Designation and Exposition of the Figures of Isaiah, Chapters liv, lv, lvi, and lvii.
- XVI. THE AMERICAN QUARTERLY CHURCH REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. The Present State and Prospects of Christianity—No. III: 2. About Dr. Oldham at Greystones: 3. The Church and the Denominations: 4. English Reformation: The Nag's-Head Story: 5. Romish Perverts: Where they come from: 6. Two Letters to the Bishop of Arras: 7. Pews.

The ignorance, or something worse, which this review manifests whenever it speaks of Methodist affairs indicates that it may presume on similar qualities in its body of readers. For instance, it says: "The able editor of the 'Advocate and Journal,' Dr. Stevens, a more conservative man, declined a re-election distinctly on the ground of the revolutionary and radical elements which now threaten to rend that large body to fragments. The Methodists have once before split on this subject, the South from the North; and we hear constantly of new sects in that denomination, as one class after another of visionary enthusiasts among them rallies around some new hobby. Schism is their sin, and schism is their punishment."

Its best answer may be found in the following items from the American Theological Review:

"The following statistical table shows the increase of the Episcopal Presbyterian, and Methodist communions from 1800 to 1850:

	Ministers.	Ministers.	Rates of increase.	Members.	Members.	Rates of increase.
	1800.	1850.		1800.	1850.	
Protestant Episcopal...	264	1,526	6 to 1	11,973	72,000	6 to 1
Presbyterian, O. & N. S. ....	300	4,196	14 to 1	40,000	837,389	8½ to 1
Methodist Episcopal, N. & S. ....	287	5,646	19½ to 1	64,894	1,160,380	17½ to 1

"The *Episcopal Recorder*, of Philadelphia, commenting upon this *prima facie* disparity against their own denomination, suggests, as a cause, *three mistakes of Episcopacy*—the crippling effect of extra ritualism, the narrow channel through which the missionary power of the Church is exerted, and a prevalent distrust of that Church's Protestantism."

From all which it follows of the Episcopalian sect that *narrowness* is its sin, and *narrowness* is its punishment.

This conclusion is confirmed from the following passage on page 220 of this review: "The Church is very small. Compared with the thousands of Christian men and women of various names in the land, her two hundred thousand communicants are but a handful. That truth is forced upon the attention of both her clergy and her laity, at times, in ways that are not at all pleasant, in ways, too, sometimes not at all flattering to their own consciences." That is, the Methodist Episcopal Church is punished for schism by being nearly ten times as large as the Episcopalian body. We have heard of the Broad Church, the Hard Church, the High Church, the Low Church; but our Episcopalian friends are persistently, both in numbers and magnanimity, the SMALL CHURCH.

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## II.—English Reviews.

- I. THE JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE AND BIBLICAL RECORD, July 1860.—1. The Exodus; the Traces thereof Discoverable on the Monuments of Egypt: 2. The Epistle entitled to the Hebrews was written to the Churches of Asia Minor: 3. Analysis of the Emblems of St. John. Rev. xiii.: 4. Authorship of the Acts of the Apostles: 5. Gerar and its Philistine Inhabitants: 6. The Wrath of God: 7. Philosophy and the Knowledge of God: 8. The Church History of John of Ephesus: 9. Kai-Khosru and Ahasuerus.
- II. THE LONDON REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. Darwin on the Origin of Species: 2. Slave Politics and Economics: 3. London in the Thirteenth Century: 4. Limits of Religious Thought; Mansel and his Critics: 5. Ragged Homes and Ministering Women: 6. Dr. Laycock on Mind and Brain: 7. Memoirs of Bishop Wilson: 8. Domestic Annals of Scotland: 9. General Patrick Gordon: 10. The Oxford Essayists.
- III. THE NATIONAL REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. Edmond About: 2. The Natural History of the Ancients: 3. Michelet's Life of Richelieu: 4. The Devils of Loudun: 5. Horace: 6. What is the House of Lords? 7. William Caldwell Roscoe's Poetry: 8. De Biran's Pensées: 9. The Protestant and Catholic Revolt from the Middle-Scheme of Henry VIII.: 10. The Novels of George Eliot: 11. Mr. Gladstone.
- IV. THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. The Book of Genesis: 2. The American Board and the Choctaw Mission: 3. The First and Second Adam: 4. Edwards on the Atonement: 5. Presbyterian Church Government: 6. The Missionary Conference: 7. John Calvin.
- V. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. Strikes; their Tendencies and Remedies: 2. The Mill on the Floss: 3. Rawlinson's Bampton Lectures for 1859: 4. The Post-office Monopoly: 5. Ary Scheffer: 6. The Irish Education Question: 7. Germany; its Strength and Weakness: 8. Thoughts in Aid of Faith: 9. Grievances of Hungarian Catholics: 10. The French Press.

VI. THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, July, 1860.—1. The Chronicles of Abingdon: 2. The Moral Character of Story Books: 3. Wants of the Church's Missions: 4. Congregationalism: 5. Notes on Nursing: 6. The First Christian Emperors; De Broglie: 7. Evening Communion: 8. The Roman See and Sardinia.

VII. THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1860.—1. Henry Lord Brougham: 2. Prison Ethics: 3. Victor Hugo; French and English Poetry: 4. The West Indies; Past and Present: 5. Marshman's Life of Havelock: 6. Mansel and his Critics: 7. Church Questions in Australia: 8. Owen's Palæontology: 9. Cambridge University Reform.

This review opens with a magnificent article of near forty pages on Henry Lord Brougham. The great qualities and splendid career of that eminent man are portrayed with much effect. As a thinker and writer on scientific, moral, and metaphysical subjects, his performances have not been equal to his manifest powers. As a parliamentary orator and leader his success has been brilliant. As a philanthropist and a friend of the oppressed his high heroic qualities have won the admiration of the world, and placed him in the noble catalogue of champions of right that have given luster to English history. At all times of his life, even down to the latest newspaper announcements, he has proved himself a thorn in the side of tyranny; nor least among the eulogies that ennoble his name are the mutters and scowls of the panders of oppression in Europe and America.

The article on the West Indies shows the worthlessness of Mr. Trollope's view of emancipation in the Islands. The Review fully confirms the account given by Mr. Bleby in his two articles on the subject in our Quarterly. It may be recommended to the perusal of our pro-slavery friends in this country with whom Mr. Trollope is a welcome authority. Mr. Trollope professedly "hates statistics," (being a writer of popular novels,) and very reasonably, for statistics bear hard upon him. The apparent fact is, that either figures lie or Mr. Trollope does. The Reviewer gives some of these disagreeable figures, of which he thus sums the result:

Of these figures the following is a summary, and, we think, satisfactory view:

#### IMPORTS INCREASED.

Bahamas.....	1848—1857 .....	18 per cent.
Barbadoes.....	1848—1857 .....	126 "
St. Christopher.....	1855—1857 .....	50 "
Jamaica .....	1845—1857 .....	53 "
St. Vincent.....	1849—1857 .....	21 "
Trinidad.....	1855—1847 .....	62 "
Tobago.....	1850—1857 .....	16 "

#### IMPORTS DECREASED.

British Guiana.....	1847—1855 .....	22 per cent.
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#### EXPORTS INCREASED.

Bahamas.....	1848—1857 .....	80 per cent
Barbadoes.....	1848—1857 .....	104 "
St. Christopher.....	1855—1857 .....	44 "
St. Vincent.....	1849—1857 .....	10 "
Trinidad.....	1855—1857 .....	177 "
Tobago.....	1850—1857 .....	69 "
British Guiana.....	1847—1855 .....	36 "

## DECREASED.

Jamaica.....	1845—1856 .....	28 per cent. —Pp. 115, 116.
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In closing the Review says:

"With Count Montalembert, part of whose speech in the French Chamber of Peers we gladly quote, we affirm 'that the word of the missionary substituted for the whip of the slave-driver, in the government of the black race, is the most delightful spectacle and the most blessed revolution which the nineteenth century has presented to the world.'"—P. 121.

On Lepsius's late work, "The Kings-book of Ancient Egypt," the Review thus discourses:

"We owe an apology to our readers for not having before registered the appearance of Professor Lepsius's long-expected work, the *Königsbuch*, which is to be regarded as the crowning labor of his zealous, indefatigable, and profound Egyptological researches, pursued, with such undoubted ability and genius for the difficult task, throughout a long and earnest lifetime. Devotion, like that manifested by this great European scholar, to studies which to all but a few are quite unattractive or even intensely repulsive, but which, in the interest of science, are of such vast moment, cannot be too warmly commended."—P. 245.

"We are reminded of our sin of omission in neglecting to announce Professor Lepsius's *opus magnum* on its first publication, by receiving Dr. Brugsch's extremely valuable History of Egypt, of which, notwithstanding its great merits, we have left ourselves space to say but few words. Dr. Brugsch is the rising Egyptologist. His Demotic Grammar, his splendid work on the Geography of the Egypt of the Pharaohs, and others of his productions, afford ample proof of the assertion."—P. 246.

"Brugsch gives us plenty of long inscriptions done, not yet, alas! into English, but what is the next best thing, into readable French. Nor do we hesitate to affirm, that he has thus presented us with a History of Egypt more copious fiftyfold, and just infinitely more authentic and veracious, than could be compiled from all the ancient writers, including Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, and Manetho, put together. With these materials before us, so hoar with antiquity, and so rich in facts of the most interesting kind, nothing is wanting, save a reliable chronology, to give an impulse to ethnological research, linguistic science, comparative mythology, and the elucidation of the most ancient records both sacred and profane, such as these pursuits have never received before. One eye of Egyptian history Brugsch has himself supplied by his great geographical work, and we are convinced that the muse of Saïs is not doomed to remain a female Cyclops much longer, for lack of the other. The mysterious veil of Neith, we are not without shrewd presentiment, will be lifted before very long. Something better than the blind guesses we have hitherto had to put up with, as to the position of the hands on the great clock of ages, when these deeply interesting raids of the old Pharaohs, the Tuthmoses, the Ramesses, and the Setis, not only into Mesopotamia, Armenia, Assyria, Asia Minor, Phœnicia, not forgetting Palestine, but into Greece certainly, and perhaps into Italy as well, really took place. A gentleman with whom we have some acquaintance, and who dabbles a little in these matters, will have it that we are on the eve of great discoveries in Egyptian chronology, which will probably, as in other parallel instances, be made simultaneously by independent inquirers in different parts of the world. He tells us—and of course we tell our readers, who may believe it or not, as they like—that he has himself lighted upon a hieroglyphical date of the day and year of the Exodus, and that he has identified Solomon's father-in-law with Ramses Miamun II. (Rosellini's Ramses XIV.) an intensely interesting *stele* of whose reign Mr. Birch and M. de Rouge have translated."—P. 247.



## III.—German Reviews.

I. THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN.—Herausgegeben von D. C. Ullman und D. F. W. Umbreit. Gotha, bei Friedrich Andreas Perthes Zweites Heft. 1860.

THEOLOGICAL STUDIES AND CRITIQUES. SECOND NUMBER.—1860. *Treatises*: Christian Doctrines, concluded. By Rothe. *Thoughts and Observations*: Critical Remarks on the Text of the CODEX VATICANUS B. By Buttmann. Exposition of Dr. Keim's Theory of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. By Bodemeyer. Exegesis on Matthew xi, 12. By Zyro. On the Proper Conception and Province of the Science of Biblical Introduction. By Holtzmann. *Reviews*: Notes of certain late Theosophical Works. By Hamberger.

THEOLOGICAL STUDIES AND CRITIQUES. THIRD NUMBER. 1860. *Treatises*: 1. On the Pauline Christology. By Beyschlag. Contribution to the Exposition of Stephen's Apology, Acts vii. By Nitzsch. *Thoughts and Observations*: 1. On the Use of the Pronoun *ἐκείνος* in the fourth Gospel. 2. The Meaning and Connection of the three Appendices to the Book of Judges. *Reviews*: 1. Holtzmann's Canon and Tradition. By Ritschl. 2. Stirnim's Apology for Christianity. By Dörtenbach. *Miscellany*: Programme of the "Society at the Hague for the Defense of the Christian Religion."

The principal article, though not the longest, is the Exposition of Stephen's Apology. The writer claims a high place for this much assailed portion of the New Testament, and sets out in opposition to De Wette's well known remark that Stephen's address has less order and plan than any other in the Acts of the Apostles. It must not be supposed that the plan should necessarily be stated or intimated. But there is not by consequence any ground for thinking that there is none. On the other hand, Stephen had a direct purpose, and his whole address is an astonishing illustration of an easy transition from one theme to another, concluding with a convincing and overpowering climax that furnishes the key to all he had said. A great mistake commonly made by exegetical writers is, that Stephen's address was a defense alone. The truth is his argument was rather *offensive* than defensive, for he brings the severest charges upon his accusers and the entire Jewish race for their disobedience to God. With this view of the case we can well understand the bitterness of his enemies, who, "when they heard these things were cut to the heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth, and cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city and stoned him." The first division of the address extends from verse 2 to 16. Here particular stress is laid upon the providential dealings of God on the one hand and the stubbornness of the house of Israel on the other, this last design fully manifesting itself in verse 9. Second division, 17-43. Here Moses takes the chief place, with the refutation of a single complaint. More frequent mention is made of acts of disobedience, and a striking parallelism instituted between the earlier voice of God in the burning bush and Christ, consequently of the enemies of the former with the latter. The triumphant conclusion is drawn that God's Spirit and revelation are not confined to holy places. Third division, 44-50. The speaker takes up the charge concerning

the profanation of the temple, and casts back upon his opponents the reproach of obstinacy toward God and the Holy Spirit. Stephen's silent convictions giving impulse to his remarks seem to be, 1. You see that for the sake of truth I will not and cannot yield to you. 2. Your opposition to God and his witnesses is impious, but, judging from your antecedents, perfectly comprehensible. 3. But you cannot by this means frustrate God's plans. He will bring them to pass as he has formerly done, and will certainly visit you with his judgments. The conclusions of Licentiate Nitzsch are, 1. Stephen's address is purely *offensive*, and only has an apologetical character in so far as the defensive and offensive are inseparable. 2. The address is logical throughout, and has its theme to which all its parts are intimately related. 3. The theme is contained in verse 51. 4. This with the two following verses forms the application in contradistinction to the historical. 5. The historical part contains an amplification of the theme. It discloses on the one hand the theocratic agency of God from the beginning to the time of Christ, or at least of Solomon; on the other it sets forth the almost coexistent and constant opposition of corrupt Israel to the theocratic polity of God. 6. But this historical consideration by no means exclusively yet particularly refutes the two points of complaint adduced by his opponents. 7. The historical division, considered in its historical-chronological aspect, divides itself into three subdivisions: 2-16, 17-43, 44-50.

We are glad to meet with such an article as this from Germany. It is clear, logical, evangelical; and coming from a young man, is an index of the spirit beginning to animate the young theologians of Berlin. We trust not of Berlin merely, but of the entire fatherland. We have been lately reading J. Addison Alexander on the Acts, and having rejoiced in his successful refutation of the charge of planlessness in Stephen's address, we have been doubly rejoiced to find the same sentiments in the *Studien und Kritiken*. It is not inappropriate to transcribe Dr. Alexander's mode of division as an apt illustration of the different roads that men can sometimes take to arrive at the same place: "This chapter—Acts vii—contains Stephen's defense before the council (1-53) and his execution, (54-60.) His defense is drawn entirely from the Old Testament history, and is designed to show that all God's dealings with the chosen people pointed to those very charges which Stephen was accused of having threatened. This he proves by showing that the outward organization and condition of the Church had undergone repeated changes under Abraham, (2-8,) Joseph, (9-16,) Moses, (17-44,) David, (45-46;) that the actual state of things had no existence before Solomon (47;) that even this was intended from the beginning to be temporary (48-50;) and lastly, that the Israelites of every age had been unfaithful to their trust, (9-25, 27-35, 39-43, 51-53.) The remainder of the chapter describes the effect of this discourse upon the council, (54,) Stephen's heavenly vision, (55, 56,) and his death by stoning, (57-60.)" One of the great beauties in the exegetical works of this lamented commentator and preacher, is this unfolding of the plan and scope of every chapter, a feature too much neglected by the student of the Scriptures. 7

## ART. XIII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—MILTON.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

- (1.) *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Buffalo, New York, 1860.* Edited by Rev. WILLIAM L. HARRIS, D.D., Secretary of the Conference." 8vo., pp. 480. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

The Conference of 1860 will be, we think, held in honor for the character both of its discussions and its measures. No conference has ever had a more important set of questions brought before its inquest. The subject of slavery especially, which is stirring the nation with an excitement unparalleled in our history, came before this body in its most exciting form. Justice to both sides requires the decision, that seldom or never has a subject so calculated to rouse intense emotion ever been discussed in so magnanimous a temper. The delegates from the border conferences stated their argument and presented their appeal in a firm, manly, eloquent style. They appeared like men who felt that much was at stake. There was temptation from the relative position of the parties, if none from the conduct of their opponents, to enact the *ad captandum* part of oppressed men. But they stood their ground with serene countenance, neither betraying the cause of their constituency, nor forfeiting by any discourtesy the fraternal respect of their brethren opposed. And, sooth to say, the majority, by a very unanimous forbearance of measure and language through the whole series of debates, fully establish the fact that they were actuated neither by a rabid fanaticism, by a desire to oppress, nor by a wish for disunion. Not seldom was there between the two parties a rivalry of magnanimous concession. We cannot wonder, therefore, that this body of Christian ministers left an honorable impression upon the minds of the community. Nor more do we wonder that when agitation for border secession arises, its authors and fomentors are other than the delegates from the border conferences. The measure at last adopted by the General Conference was most conservative and wise. Strictly speaking there is no change. That is, there is no change in the substance of the Discipline or the essential doctrine of the Church. The chapter as it stands states the old ground; the ground (until very lately) maintained unvaryingly, at least theoretically, by the border conferences themselves. If, indeed, those conferences are receding from the old ground and adopting the hitherto unheard of novelty, that the motive of the slaveholding is not to be made a matter of inquiry, very timely, indeed, is this our reassertion of the old and unchanged ground of the Church. But secession for that reassertion cannot justify itself before the bar of the Christian world. It has no case.

Equally progressive, yet conservative, was the action upon lay delegation. The sentiment in the Church on this subject, so far as it is not the result of

artificial agitation, and is the result of a rational judgment, looking at things as they are, and studying the best interests of the Church, it has never been the purpose either of the General Conference or of the Episcopacy, far less of the ministry generally, to disregard. Indeed, it has been a subject of newspaper remark, outside the Church, that the sentiment in favor of lay delegation is stronger, at least in some sections, among the clergy than among the laity. Very few are the exceptional cases of men among us willing to excite a divisive feeling between ministry and people. In this state of things it was a most wise measure in our General Conference to lay the whole question, as a matter of expediency, before the general Church for calm discussion and quiet fraternal decision. Let the Church come to a consciousness of her own wish, and shape herself by her own deliberate volition. We believe that the effect will be to discountenance special agitators, to substitute discussion for controversy, and to educe, under the guidance of the great Master of assemblies, a wise decision and a blessed result.

We hope something from the organization of a permanent General Committee on Education, and trust that the gentlemen placed by the Conference on that committee will see that it be a *live* movement. Care should be taken that the annual conferences do not forget to establish in each district the proper Board of Education, and that every direction specified in the Report of the Education Committee be so executed that the prospective organization of "The Educational Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church" shall come before the next General Conference ready for adoption and future effective action. The time has, no doubt, arrived when our educational system should receive that recognition and aid from the government of the Church which shall perfect its harmony, elevate its character, and aid in imparting additional life to all our regularly authorized institutions.

The goodly volume well shows that in editing the results as well as in performing the duties of his office, "the secretary stands alone."

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(2.) "*The Union Pulpit*. A Collection of Sermons by Ministers of Different Denominations." 8vo. Washington: W. T. Smithson. 1860.

This fine volume is put forth by the Young Men's Christian Association of the city of Washington. Its purpose is to aid that association in its laudable work of supplying at the national capital a suitable hall, library, reading room, and other moral, intellectual, and religious provisions for the multitudes who are annually brought from all quarters of our nation to that important center. This particular association endeavors manfully to perform its part in the great work assumed by the extensive body of Christian young men, whose association forms so hopeful a feature of the present day. Carefully avoiding any tendency to becoming a substitute for the Church, its purpose is in the spirit of our blessed Master, to provide "for the wants of the poor, for the education of the ignorant and neglected, the relief of the sick and dying, the diffusion of the Gospel in jails, asylums, and similar institutions, the introduction of strangers to suitable homes, the employment of the destitute, and the advancement of all that can ennoble man's character." With an institution so benevolent in its purposes every Christian heart must feel a deep sympathy.

a hearty disposition to excuse its errors and prejudices, and an earnest desire to lend aid to its efficiency in its enterprises. We trust, therefore, that in addition to its intrinsic excellence, this noble volume will find its philanthropic object to be a decisive inducement with the public to aid in securing its remunerative circulation.

To many minds, but not to ours, the stern *pseudo-conservatism* of the volume will be a main recommendation. To all who share in that *ism* we present its special claims. To them it offers the striking merit, that the large share of the divines who are admitted as *stars* in its firmament are southern preachers; some of them intense partisans of pro-slaveryism; while all of them, with perhaps a single questionable exception, are, we believe, either southern men, or northern men with southward proclivities. There is one name which in former times was recognized on the *tabooed* catalogue of antislavery men; from that catalogue it has disappeared to reappear in the present southern constellation. There are names of men who stand in the front heroic rank in defense of slavery and the human auction block. There is the name which must go down to posterity as designating the man who, as a slaveholder, produced the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church. But there is not one name belonging to a conspicuous leader in the great work of delivering our nation from the sin and stain of "buying and selling men, women, and children." There is the name of Fuller, who defended slavery against Wayland; but the name of Wayland is excluded. There is Bishop Andrews, of the M. E. Church, South; but no Bishop Simpson of the M. E. Church. There is Dr. William Smith, whose name is noted as the author of an unflinching defense of slavery; but no Dr. John H. Power, who reduced his book to a *nonplus*. To all pseudo-conservatives, whose olfactories are keen for the slightest odor of abolitionism, we commend this volume as perfectly innoxious and sweet smelling. To all the members of all those various "Unions" which have done so much to render the name of "Union" the antithesis of truth, righteousness, and freedom, we say, You are morally taxable for the payment of the price of this book.

But the book itself we believe is worth the assessment. We do not pretend as yet to have read many sermons in it, and do not involve ourself in any promises. But there are *names* that are pledges for the ability of the production they head, and are temptations to perform what we decline to promise. And then there are engravings which are singularly excellent, both as specimens of art and, so far as we are acquainted with the originals, as accurate and admirable counterfeit. There is the manly face of Dr. Murray, true to the life. There is our friend Dr. Foster, with just the expression which he has brought home from his Northwestern presidency. There are the burning eye and the silver locks, but not the more than silver voice, of Thomas H. Stockton. There is the round, ever fresh face of Dr. M'Clintock, "last, but not least" of the gallery. These engravings are, to use a phrase which so many have used before us that we hope nobody will use it after us, "worth the price of the book." And now to the Young Men's Association of Washington we say that we hope that the time is coming when the term Union will cease to signify the predominance of a section; when Washington will cease to be exclusively a southern city; and when they may dare to pub-

lish a second volume which both in principle and in men will have something of a free and northern aspect; and when the result will be a large accession of money in their coffers and manhood in their souls.

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- (3.) "*Sermons*. By JOSEPH ADDISON ALEXANDER, D.D. Second edition." 2 vols. 12mo., pp. 414, 425. New York: Charles Scribner; London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co. 1860.

It is seldom that "three mighties" are found in the same home circle like the three Alexanders of the O. S. Presbyterian Church.

Dr. Archibald Alexander, a native of Virginia, was elected, in 1811, the first professor of the Princeton Theological Seminary, where for nearly forty years he was the chief oracle of old style Calvinism. He was learned, evangelical, strong in tongue and pen, and withal bold and confident in stating his opinions, and thus the better able to inspire the young men under his tuition with confidence in his system. He did much, more perhaps than any other man of the times, to resist the disintegrating process to which the Westminster theology has been subject in these latter days.

His eldest son, Dr. James W. Alexander, pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, died last year at the age of fifty-five, respected and loved, an able minister of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The third son, Dr. Joseph Addison Alexander, died a few months after his brother, at Princeton, in the 50th year of his age. He had been a professor in the seminary some twenty-five years, and for the last eight years of his life was Professor of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History. The volumes of sermons before us, like the portrait of the author in the first volume, bear the family likeness. They are strong in thought, evangelical in doctrine, powerful in style, and worthy to be deemed models. There are forty-three discourses, embracing a wide range of topics, generally, however, those that involve directly only the great truths in which evangelical Churches agree, and by which souls are saved. The 16th Sermon, volume i, on the Final Perseverance of the Saints, is about the only one specifically upon any point in controversy between us and the Calvinists; still, the Genevan doctrine crops out all along. Sometimes the preacher is content with the favorite technicality, supposed to epitomize the whole system, "sovereign grace." Sometimes he teaches it openly and at considerable length, and certainly without any observable lack of confidence in what he utters. There are in the volumes much beauty and compact force of style. c.

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- (4.) "*Lectures on Christian Theology*. By GEORGE CHRISTIAN KNAPP, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Halle. Translated by LEONARD WOODS, Jr., D.D., President of Bowdoin College. Eighth American edition. Reprinted from the last London edition." 8vo., pp. 569. New York: N. Tibbals & Co., 118 Nassau-street. 1859.

Dr. Knapp was professor at Halle during the period of the American Revolution. He was the son of a professor of the same university. The institution itself was founded by Spener for the purpose of inculcating a new evangelical spirit, and a more Biblical theology than was prevalent in the land of the Reformation. When the darkness of rationalism settled down even upon



Halle, Knapp, then in his youth, imbibed much of its spirit and principles, but as he matured in mind he progressively returned to the evangelical doctrines. When he became professor he maintained the truths of the Gospel with ever increasing clearness in the most neological period, vindicating them and himself from the contempt of his cotemporaries by the extent of his learning, the force of his talent, and the popularity of his lectures. He lived to see the dawn of a better day, and died in 1825, in the peace of the blessed Gospel he so faithfully maintained.

The work itself should be in every minister's library. Its Lutheran theology of course presents some objectionable points, but the Methodist reader encounters much less to reject than does the learned translator himself. On the predestinarian controversy Knapp is essentially Arminian, nor do the notes of the translator materially diminish the value of his indoctrinations on that point.

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- (5.) "*Gildas Silvianus*. The Reformed Pastor: showing the Nature of the Pastoral Work, especially in private Instruction and Catechising: with an open Confession of our too open Sins. Prepared for a day of humiliation kept at Worcester, December 4, 1665, by the Ministers of that Country, who subscribed the agreement for Catechising and Personal Instruction at their entrance upon that work. By the Rev. RICHARD BAXTER." 8vo., pp. 560. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.

Baxter was requested to prepare an address suitable for the solemn meeting of ministers at Worcester; but his great full heart could not stop until it had poured forth this immortal book. When the day came his feeble body was unable to attend and deliver even a *part*; but at the urgency of his friends he gave it through the press to the world, that they who could not hear might read. This work Mr. Wesley published in his Christian Library, and valued it so highly that he made it a disciplinary duty of his preachers to study its pages. The work is on our own catalogue of publications; but thanks are none the less due to the Carters for affording it a circulation among other denominations.

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- (6.) "*The Revelation of John its own Interpreter*, in virtue of the Double Version in which it is delivered. By JOHN COCHRAN." 12mo., pp. 350. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

The ingenious author of this exposition is no way unaware of the reputation for wisdom conceded to the commentator who lets the Apocalypse alone, or of the unwillingness of an objective age to investigate a new theory. He is so sanguine of his success that he encounters all, and the result is before us. Objective as is the age, its population is immense, and among its various classes a small fit audience will be found to lend attention.

The symbolic part of the Apocalypse is twofold. The two corresponding sections are chap. vi, 1—chap. vii, 17; and from chap. xii, 1, to the end. These two sections are divided by an interval of silence. Each begins with a quaternary series of symbols; each next presents a scene of terrible trial; then follows in both a train of judgments; and both close with a glorious heavenly triumph. The quaternary symbols represent the predominance of Romanism in Christendom. The trials are the persecution of the true Church.

The judgments are the divine penalties executed upon the persecutors. The triumph is the predominance of Christianity in the earth. Chapters twenty-one and twenty-two therefore have no reference to a future world. The book is well worthy the attention of the students of prophecy.

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- (7.) "*The Missionary in Many Lands: a Series of Interesting Sketches of Missionary Life.* By ERWIN HOUSE, A.M. Ten Illustrations." 12mo., pp. 393. New York: Carlton & Porter, Sunday-School Union.

Not fiction based on fact, but fact itself; and facts stranger and nobler than fiction. The taste of our youth should be formed by the perusal of such books, and their piety cultivated by the examples they present. Mr. House is entitled to the thanks of the Church for the preparation of this excellent volume.

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- (8.) "*Morning Hours in Patmos: the Opening Vision of the Apocalypse, and Christ's Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia.* By A. C. THOMSON, Author of the '*Better Land.*'" 12mo., pp. 268. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1860.

Mr. Thomson himself is a visitant at Patmos, and his work is a record of the feelings and reflections awakened by that rocky isle and the sites of the seven churches. His volume is full of a rich piety expressed in pure and eloquent language. It will be a welcome book with the Christian public.

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## II. Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

- (9.) "*An Exposition of the Swedish Movement Cure; embracing the History and Philosophy of this System of Medical Treatment, with Examples of Single Movement, and Directions for their Use in various forms of Chronic Disease, forming a complete Manual of Exercises, together with a Summary of the Principles of General Hygiene.* By GEORGE H. TAYLOR, Principal Physician to the Remedial Hygienic Institute of New York City." 12mo., pp. 396. New York: Fowler & Wells. 1860.

We suppose that nearly every possible remedial or prophylactic method has now become systematized, and propounded as a complete medical science, and dubbed with a title ending with *pathy* or *cure*, has gone before the public as an ample *theory* and *practice* for all the demands of human disease. A partial remedy, good in its place, we doubt not that nearly every one of them is. Their systematized unity and learned title doubtless aid in obtaining the public attention. But an acceptance of special methods as an entire practice for all diseases is a folly very likely to inflict its own penalty.

In its place, and in its proper proportion, the Hygienic use of bodily exercise is specially important. Especially for students and sedentary men of all classes, a thorough analytic bodily training is an indispensable condition of strength and health. There is no professorship more important or less appreciated in our colleges than the department of physical culture. There is no recitation room more important than the gymnasium. Our denominational college corporations have not yet sufficiently realized this truth. Our own ministry, with its equestrian habits, was once the most robust set of successors to the apostles that the world has seen since the apostles' day. But our next clerical generation is liable to be what Theodore

Parker said that orthodoxy is, namely, "dyspeptic." For this there is no other preventive than the proper intermingling of physical with mental training. No one who has witnessed the rapid and decisive effects of the gymnasium on the strength and health can doubt its efficiency for these important purposes.

It is a great value in Mr. Taylor's book that it shows that an expensive apparatus, which is out of the reach of too many of us, is not indispensable to a valuable self-training. The student has truly an apparatus always at command. The human frame has all the requisites for a powerful gymnasium for itself. And the main value of this volume, and a great value it is, consists in a very clear exhibition of the method and its rationale. For this purpose we commend it to a wide circulation.

Objections are made, very true but not very weighty, to the want of dignity of these prescribed performances. And it is undeniable that if the various circumgyrations, genuflexions, and calcitrations, or—to bring the matter down to plain Saxon—if the manifold twistings, squattings, kickings, etc., were to be made a public performance, they would be a very terrible diminution of dignity to which few grave personages would submit. But it is not clear that these performances are less dignified with a complex gymnastic apparatus than without. We suppose that nature compels us daily to predicaments which would appear undignified in public. No processes are less dignified than those superinduced by the emetics and cathartics of orthodox medical practice. On the whole, we recommend this volume to all persons who are at a loss for some mode of healthful exercise.

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(10.) "*Studies of Animal Life.* By GEORGE HENRY LEWES, author of 'Physiology of Common Life,' etc." 24mo., pp. 146. Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Lewes is ever a fidgety philosopher. He is a skeptic, and self-complacent in his skepticism as a mark of superior shrewdness. Hence he is always anxious to let it peep if not jump out. He is voracious for differing as much as possible from ordinary beliefs. He would even like the glory, were it not for the inconvenience, of being persecuted; just as Shakspeare's fop would have liked, but for "those vile guns," to be a soldier. With his propensity rather than talent for vivacity, his self-sufficiency, and his real science, Mr. Lewes is the very prettiest specimen of the *savan-fop* of our day.

The present book is an unfolding of some of the wonders of lower zoology by a man whose wonder, terminating in the object, sees nothing in the animal more wonderful than the animal. It possesses much physical and æsthetical, but (as far as the author is able) no moral interest. He decides that the possibility of hybrid propagation is forever demonstrated by the fertility of two species of *lepus*—the hare and the rabbit!

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### III.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(11.) "*A Run through Europe.* By ERASTUS C. BENEDICT." 12mo., pp. 552. New York: Appleton & Co.

A book of travels that is one of the results of the great tourist tide now setting more strongly and broadly than ever toward Europe. It gives us the salient

points of interest that lie along some of the most familiar routes of European travel, such as could be gathered up in a summer vacation from twenty-five kingdoms and sovereignties. Without the interest and novelty of new routes and perilous adventures, the book will nevertheless amply repay perusal, whether as a reminiscence of travel or as a preparation for it. It strongly reminds one of the fact that one sees only that which he carries with him the eyes to see. The writer had read much before he made his "run," and hence the miscellaneous, episodic, historical, critical, æsthetic, statistic, biographical, reminiscent, and occasionally gossipy style of the book, and for these reasons all the more entertaining and instructive. Luther lost much of his attachment to the Papal See by his visit to Rome; our author, without ceasing to be any less an American Protestant, yet has an abatement of his anti-Romanistic feelings after his visit to the Papal dominions. In his opinion, the winking Madonnas, blood-liquefactions, relics of rags and bones, and wood and stone, indulgences, worship of saints, etc., are no part of the Catholic religion, no logical or legitimate extreme of the system; only incidentals, parasitical developments of it. He is more and more convinced that the adulterous union of Church and State, and not the Roman Catholic Church, is the great apostacy mentioned in the New Testament; that the differences between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism are not so much differences of *quality* as of *quantity*, and if you could "abolish the temporal power of the pope, make him only the primate, the bishop of bishops, the Archbishop of Canterbury of the world, the spiritual earthly head of the Church, supported by its contributions in such pontifical splendor as you please, but without dungeons, or prisons, or terrors, except ecclesiastical, not forbidding to marry, not compelling auricular confession, and how long would it be before the Greek Church and a very considerable portion of all Protestant prelatical Churches would quietly acknowledge him as the shepherd and bishop of their folds? In my opinion not fifty years." In our opinion many more than fifty centuries. ¶

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- (12.) *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa; together with Journeys to Jagga, Usambara, Ukambarie, Shou, Abyssinia, and Khartum; and a Coasting Voyage from Mombaz to Cape Dalgado.* By the Rev. Dr. J. LEWIS KRAPF, Secretary of the Chrishona Institute at Basel, and late Missionary in the service of the Church Missionary Society in Eastern and Equatorial Africa. With an Appendix respecting the Snow-capped Mountains of Eastern Africa; the Sources of the Nile; the Languages and Literature of Abyssinia and Eastern Africa, and a concise account of Geographical Researches in Eastern Africa up to the discovery of the Uyenyesi by Dr. Livingstone in September last. By E. J. RAVENSTEIN." 12mo., pp. 464. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

It was Dr. Krapf's destiny to travel through a region of euphonious names. Whatever the barbarism and fierceness of the tribes he visited, they quarreled, blasphemed, and worshiped their idols in languages of Italian softness, filled with words of flowing vowels, moulded and shaped by delicate consonants. The seas he navigated were haunted, for the very music of their names, as well as the romance of their memories, by the muses of Milton and Camoens.

And well may the Christian spirit sigh for the day when the Gospel spirit and Christian institutions may overspread this ancient and sunny clime.

Ethiopia and Abyssinia are indeed names familiar in history, Biblical and classical, Pagan and Christian. Here, perhaps, was the Ophir of Solomon. These eastern coasts were visited as early as A.D. 210, by the navigators whose narrative is given with topographical truthfulness in the *Periplus of Arrian*. When the Roman empire fell historic darkness rested for ages here until the Mohammedan Arabs took possession. For a period subsequent Portugal reigned ascendant; and now Britain leads the European States in spreading an advancing Christian power over these seas and coasts.

Dr. Krapf proves himself a specially fitted missionary pioneer. His brief autobiography, prefixed to the missionary narrative, manifests a unique child-like simplicity united with a most manly spirit of enterprise. With the most perfect modesty of spirit he assumes that he was providentially designed, fitted, and led to this specific work. Faith and piety seem to have so fully impregnated his soul as to seem natural. His travels have opened new explorations for Christian enterprise, and added new regions to the map of Eastern Africa. His linguistic researches, his new collection of manuscripts, and the philological works preparing by him and Rebman are adding new accessions to ethnology. Livingstone and Krapf are truly twin spirits.

- (13.) "*Old Mackinaw; or, The Fortress of the Lakes and its Surroundings.* By W. P. STRICKLAND." 12mo., pp. 404. Philadelphia: Challen & Son; New York: Carlton & Porter; Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock; Chicago: W. M. Doughty; Detroit: Putnam, Smith, & Co.; Nashville: J. B. M'Ferrin. 1860.

Mackinaw is the strait that crowns the apex of the pyramidal peninsula of the Michigan of our maps. It is a point of singular historical and geographical interest, and of future commercial importance. It is the prospective center of an immense number of lines of trade. Its beauty and salubrity render it an attraction for the summer tourist and the invalid. The next great commercial expansion is very likely to reveal its importance.

It is not many years since the northern part of this peninsula was officially reported to the United States government as an impassable swamp, the real fact being that it was a fine table-land, rich with timber ample for many a future navy, and affording soil unsurpassed for the surest and most plentiful growth of cereals. In regard to temperature, its isothermal line passes through Prussia and Poland, the finest grain countries in Europe. North of the straits are the copper mines of the Superior, and south the coal mines of Michigan. Around, the great lakes form one of the grandest systems of internal water communication in the world. Two railroads, commenced but not completed, send their black lines from the far south to the straits, opening a very direct communication from Pensacola to the point designated as the future Mackinaw City. It hardly seems a mere fancy that these straits are a sort of Dardanelles, and that Mackinaw may prove our future Constantinople. Such are the contemplations opened in this volume. It is, in truth, a singularly interesting volume. We cannot conjecture on what field of historiographic labor we shall next encounter the ubiquitous genius of our friend Strickland.

FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XII.—44

- (14.) "*The History of Herodotus*. A new English Version, edited with copious Notes and Appendices, illustrating the History and Geography of Herodotus, from the most recent Sources of Information; and embodying the chief Results, Historical and Ethnographical, which have been obtained in the Progress of Cuneiform and Hieroglyphical Discovery. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A., Late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. Assisted by Colonel Sir HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., and Sir J. G. WILKINSON, F.R.S. In four volumes. Vol. 4, with Maps and Illustrations." 8vo., pp. 466. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

The present volume completes this noble work. Herodotus is now accessible to the English reader in form and with accompaniments valuable alike to the scholar and the general reader. The merest English reader, indeed, cannot peruse the translated text of Herodotus without feeling something of that peculiar negligent simplicity and that pervading air of antiquity which in the Greek possess so full a charm for the classical scholar. The copious illustrations which modern discovery throw around the text add to its power by strengthening the sense of reality. In fact there is much in this mass of corroboration to check the excess of historical skepticism and to enable us to feel that we live in a real world, whose past ages are not all a dream.

The present volume contains more than forty illustrations, and one valuable map of Greece in the time of the Persian wars. There are three ethnological Essays. One analyzes the races of the empire of Xerxes, valuable to the classical scholar. The second examines the early migrations of the Phœnicians, and is valuable both to the classical and Biblical student. The third, on the Alarodians of Herodotus, also carries us, unexpectedly, upon Biblical grounds.

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- (15.) "*History of Latin Christianity*; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V. By HENRY HART MILMAN, Dean of St. Paul's. In eight volumes. Vol. I. 12mo. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

We have received the "prospectus and specimen pages" of the above great work from the enterprising house who undertake it. That we heartily welcome the announcement will not be doubted by those who remember our suggesting, a few numbers back, the desirableness of its republication in America. The profound research, historic impartiality, and brilliant written eloquence of Dean Milman, we are well assured, will be brought out in full splendor in the volumes announced. We doubt not that the publication will be a remunerative enterprise.

"No such work," says the Quarterly Review, (vol. xcv, p. 39,) "has appeared in English ecclesiastical literature—none which combines such breadth of view with such depth of research—such high literary and artistic eminence with such patient and elaborate investigation—such appreciation of the various forms of greatness and goodness with such force of conception and execution—none which exhibits so large an amount of that fearlessness of results which is the necessary condition of impartial judgment and trustworthy statement."—*Prospectus*, p. 6.

The first volume will appear in October, 1860, being a reprint of the last London edition. It will be printed at the Riverside Press, Cambridge, and each volume will be a beautiful crown octavo of about six hundred pages. Price per volume, according to binding, from \$1 50 to \$2 50.



- (16.) "*Autobiographical Recollections.* By the late CHARLES ROBERT LESLIE, R. A. Edited, with a Preparatory Essay on Leslie as an Artist, and Selections from his Correspondence, by TOM TAYLOR, Esq., editor of the 'Autobiography of Haydon.'" 12mo., pp. 363. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Leslie, the great painter, was born of American parents in the city of London in 1794, and lived to the year 1859. His powers as an artist brought him into acquaintance with men of eminent genius, intercourse with the nobility, and even into the presence of royalty. His genius, gentleness, purity, and we may add piety, render the pages both of his autobiography and his correspondence attractive. A main point of interest is his reminiscences, recorded at ease and without the formality of portraiture, of men like Coleridge, Charles Lamb, Thomas Moore, Rogers, Sidney Smith, Washington Irving, and Walter Scott.

- (17.) "*The Queens of Society.* By GRACE and PHILIP WHARTON. Illustrated by CHARLES ALTAMONT DOYLE and the Brothers DALZIEL." 12mo., pp. 488. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

A fascinating book, and hard to lay aside unfinished. The "Queens" are not fictitious but real characters. They are a constellation of the women most celebrated for talent or brilliancy of character in modern times. Madame Roland, Lady Montague, L. E. L., Madame de Staël, and others, constitute the series. The style is graceful and piquant. The moral tone is unexceptionable. The book is every way worthy of a finer material and better engravings.

- (18.) "*Course of Ancient Geography.* Arranged with Special Reference to Convenience of Recitation. By H. J. SCHMIDT, D.D., Professor in Columbia College." 16mo., pp. 328. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

The absence of a manual of ancient geography suited to collegiate recitation but too clearly indicates an absence of due attention to that valuable branch of classical instruction in our usual college courses. Professor Schmidt's work is admirably suited for its object. It is certainly none too large; it is well planned, compiled from the best authorities, and brought down to the latest period of research. In connection with a good atlas—Butler's, Findley's, or Long's—the work should be placed in our schemes of college study.

- (19.) "*The Sand-Hills of Jutland.* By HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN, Author of 'The Improvisator,' etc." Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

Another very readable story-book from Herr Andersen, a great writer of stories. It comprises eighteen tales, and takes its title from the first one. The book savors of the old Norse legends, occasionally entering those bewitching regions of the marvelous which lie between fact and fancy, between myth and history; but it does so without disturbing our credence, like Munchausen, or shocking the moral feelings like Paul de Kock. Andersen is a prolix Æsop in his use of the lower forms of life; but puts the moral, not at the end, but in the stories themselves, which breathe throughout a fine spirit of piety, and afford pleasant reading to wonder-loving youth and genial old age. 21

- (20.) "*A Smaller History of Greece, from the Earliest Times to the Roman Conquest.* By WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D. Illustrated by engravings on wood." 12mo., pp. 248. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

The youthful scholar is furnished in this volume with an invaluable manual of Grecian history, finished with the latest results of research. The engravings are not the least excellence, being selected with rare judgment, and strikingly illustrative. The restoration of the Acropolis, which is the frontispiece, gives the finest position upon its "summit level" that we ever enjoyed.

- (21.) "*Life in Sing Sing State-prison, as seen in a Twelve Years' Chaplaincy.* By Rev. JOHN LUCKEY." 12mo., pp. 376. New York: N. Tibbals & Co.

As mere narrative, the pages of the philanthropic Chaplain of Sing Sing are full of interest. They are full too of suggestive matter for the benevolent and reflective mind. They present monitory lessons of warning to the young. They deserve a broadcast circulation.

- (22.) "*Appleton's Companion Hand-Book of Travel*, containing a full description of the principal Cities, Towns, and places of interest, together with Hotels, and Routes of Travel through the United States and the Canadas. With Colored Maps. Edited by T. ADDISON RICHARDS." 12mo., pp. 288. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

The traveler and the tourist will find in this guide-book a very faithful and trusty counselor as to the routes, with the circumstantialities which he needs to know, upon which he is to travel. The colored maps are alone a great convenience, and the periodical character of the work enables it to "keep posted" in regard to the changes.

- (23.) "*The New American Encyclopedia.* A popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by GEORGE RIPLEY & CHARLES DANA. Vol. 10. Jerusalem—M'Ferrin." 8vo., pp. 796. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

The present number contains a valuable article on Kant, by Professor H. B. Smith, and one on Language, by Charles Kraitsir. Articles are furnished on near eighty living characters, among whom are Reverdy Johnson, Thomas Starr King, Charles Kingsley, Kossuth, Layard, Lepsius, Leverrier, Tayler Lewis, Abraham Lincoln, Longfellow, J. R. Lowell, and Liebig. There are articles on Dr. Kidder, Dr. M'Clintock, and Dr. J. B. M'Ferrin.

#### IV.—Politics, Law, and General Morals.

- (24.) "*Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, from 1789 to 1856.* From Gales & Seaton's Annals of Congress; from their Register of Debates; and from the Official Reported Debates, by John C. Rives. By the Author of the 'Thirty Years' View.' Vol. 14." 8vo., pp. 747. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

The present volume closes Martin Van Buren's administration, and continues through those of General Taylor and John Tyler.

## V.—Educational.

- (25.) "*First Standard Phonographic Reader*. Illustrated by CHAUNCEY B. THORNE. By A. J. GRAHAM." 12mo., pp. 82. New York: A. J. Graham, Phonetic Depot. 1860.

The perfection attained by Messrs. Graham and Thorne in their Phonographic pages indicates the success of the art, and gives promise of the issue of a series of valuable works, by them contemplated, from their "Depot." The present work is a beautiful specimen of the corresponding style. It consists of a series of interesting extracts calculated to entertain and cheer the commencing reader in his progress in deciphering the new script. Such works are needed for all pupils, and especially the young, for whom the pleasantness lightens the labor of the task. Notes are judiciously added at the end of the volume to explain the more difficult combinations. Mr. Graham has introduced some slight modifications into Pitman's system which will embarrass the reader but slightly, but which, whatever their excellences, do not quite rob the title "standard."

- (26.) "*Analytic Orthography*; an investigation of the Sounds of the Voice and their Alphabetic Notation; including the Mechanism of Speech and its bearing upon Etymology. By S. S. HALDEMAN, A.M., Professor in Delaware College." 4to., pp. 148. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. London: Trübner & Co. Paris: Benjamin Duprat. Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler. 1860.

Professor Haldeman gives the following account of the origination of this work:

"This Essay owes its form and matter to the following circumstances. In the year 1857 Sir William C. Trevelyan, A.M., (Oxford,) of Wallington, Newcastle-on-Tyne, offered two prizes for essays on a Reform in the Spelling of the English Language, to contain, among other features, an Analysis of the System of Articulate Sounds, an Exposition of those occurring in English, and an Alphabetic Notation, in which 'as few new types as possible should be admitted.' The last requisition has, in a few cases, resulted in a double notation, one of which represents the author's preference in a new form of type, the other being a form in use, but not approved. The investigation was made from a natural history point of view, and the results are here presented. A Report is yet to be made to the American Association for the Advancement of Science on the Subject of an Alphabetic Notation for exotic Languages. Suggestions and criticisms are solicited toward this end, to be addressed to the author at Columbia, Pennsylvania."

The author, though disclaiming a place among the reformers, arrives at a theoretic alphabet, based on the Latin, which he applies to the ten primary numerals in seventy-five languages. It is a learned and acute work on an important subject.

## VI.—Belles-Lettres and Classics.

- (27.) "*Lucile*. By OWEN MEREDITH, Author of 'The Wanderer,' 'Clytemnestra,' etc." 24mo., blue and gold. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

Owen Meredith has here furnished the latest form of the Epos—the modern novel wrought into poetry. We say this not by way of disparagement. The "modern novel" has in our age engaged the powers of some of our finest intellects, and has made some of the broadest and, some think, the highest of reputations. When, however, the novel successfully assumes the form of verse,

a new muse is called into the performance, and a higher art is attained. The Lucile of Owen Meredith will, in this respect, doubtless be pronounced a success. The poem displays a mastery and an intense concentration of language, deep passion, rapid action, dramatic effect, and skillful portraiture of character. Lucile, the heroine, is a lofty specimen of womanhood. By a few brief words she is flung into disharmony with the natural order of things; but she preserves, in the comparative isolation of her existence, not merely a self-sustained purity, a firm refusal to return to the orbit of ordinary affections by a sacrifice of unselfish principle, but she exerts a heroic and mastering control over the feebler virtue of others, fixes the wavering purpose of the tempted, and restores the fallen to the path of integrity. Some passages there are where the language of the seducer willing his victim to ruin is perhaps too lusciously detailed. One character is introduced, however, intended to teach us, very much in the style of the dissolute dramatists of the Restoration, that professed religion and Exeter Hall benevolence are but the cloak for mercenary villainy.

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(28.) "*The Ebony Idol.*" 12mo., pp. 283. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

No term could be more expressive of the deep devotion of our Southern friends to the dark power that now controls them than the title of this volume. No picture could better symbolize the deep fanaticism of the pro-slavery spirit than its frontispiece. The scene of the picture seems to be in the center of a southern plantation. The representative of slavery stands in the shape of a fine young negro, crowned with roses, and surrounded by rapt admirers. A thin ministerial looking figure seems to represent the clerical defenders of slavery, like Dr. Smith, or Dr. Ross, who have immolated morality and Scripture upon the altar of this their evil genius. A lank-faced old lady seems to represent Virginia or South Carolina, impoverished and blasted by the dark curse they adore. When we consider how much of prosperity, of honor, of conscience, and of common sense, our southern friends have sacrificed to their mumbo-jumbo, we fully conclude that no devil worship was ever more intense or more mad than is hourly offered to their "Ebony Idol."

While the frontispiece of this book so strikingly illustrates this fact, the book itself is a heavy abortion, offered, with a species of Moloch sacrifice of offspring, by the genius of dullness to the demon of despotism.

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(29.) "*A Man.*" By Rev. J. D. BELL." 12mo., pp. 462. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son. 1860.

The writer of this book is favorably known to the readers of the Ladies' Repository, to the editor of which, Dr. Clark, the work is reverently and affectionately dedicated. It consists of a series of free meditations on a variety of interesting topics belonging to aesthetics, practical life, and morals. In short Mr. Bell here performs as an essayist. His practical aims are excellent, and the natural influence of his reflections is beneficial. There is no overstrain after effect. He succeeds well in winning his reader's attention and guiding him through a path of fresh and attractive thought. The volume may be recommended to the lovers of the essay.

## VII.—Periodicals.

- (30.) "*The Christian Advocate and Journal*. EDWARD THOMSON, D.D., Editor." New York. 1860.

The Church has placed one of her ablest men at the head of this periodical, and before our January number is likely to be in the hands of its subscribers, specimens of the paper will, we trust, appear, which will demonstrate that it is the purpose of Carlton & Porter, in compliance with what is, we believe, about the unanimous wish of the Church, to place it at the head of American religious journalism. This announcement will be accepted with delight throughout the connection. Without in the least disparaging our other Advocates, and believing the elevation of one will conduce to the prosperity of all, one paper there should be *connectional* in its character. Where the center of secular journalism is in these free states, every one knows. That it launches its manifestoes from the commercial metropolis of the nation, every one feels. And that the universal circulation of these metropolitan papers increases the number and circulation of sectional periodicals would appear by statistics. We trust, then, that with the approach of the New Year there will be a buckling on of armor, and a general rally of all the "loyal" sons of the Church to roll in an additional fifty thousand upon the subscription list, and place the editor upon the journalistic preëminence in the world which his abilities can so well sustain.

- (31.) "*Sunday-School Teachers' Journal*. Published monthly for the Sunday-School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church. D. WISE, D.D., Editor."

The inauguration of a journal for the Sabbath-school teachers was a happy and a wise thought, and wisely has it been realized. Next in importance to an efficient and faithful ministry is a well-trained, well-instructed body of Sabbath teachers. That Dr. Wise should be able to address his counsels and encouragements to them all at once is a peculiar advantage which will result in unspeakable good, and we anticipate a gradual improvement in the discipline and efficiency of the whole army.

Pastors and superintendents should forthwith bring the paper before the notice of their teaching corps. The patronage of the paper has indeed surpassed in rapidity and amount the most sanguine expectations of the editor. But there are many schools yet, we suspect, unaware of the existence of the periodical, and needing a hint from the minister or managers to prevent their losing, for a while at least, the benefit of the publication.

## VIII.—Juvenile.

- (32.) "*The Book and its Story: A Narrative for the Young*. By L. N. R.' 12mo., pp. 463. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.

The Book is, of course, the Bible. Its story is the account of its origin and progressive history, its struggles and triumphs, its circulation and diffusion in modern times through the world. It is an interesting, a sublime story. The plan is well conceived and the development well traced. The illustrations form an instructive attraction. The book is primarily addressed to the young, but its value and interest are for all ages.

## IX.—Miscellaneous.

"*A Course of Exercises in French Syntax*, methodically arranged after Pötevin's '*Syntaxe Française*;' to which are added ten Appendices. Designed for the use of Academies, Colleges, and private learners. By FREDERIC T. WINKELMANN, Professor of Latin, French, and German in the Packer Collegiate Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y." 12mo., pp. 366. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

"*Reminiscences of an Officer of Zouaves*. Translated from the French." 12mo., pp. 317. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

"*A Treasury of Scripture Stories*, beautifully illustrated with Colored Plates, from original designs, by the first American artists." 12mo. New York: Sheldon & Co.; Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860.

A very fine juvenile gift-book.

"*American History*. By JACOB ABBOTT. Illustrated with numerous Maps and Engravings." 16mo., pp. 280. New York: Sheldon & Co.; Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860.

The beautiful maps and engravings, the entire exterior execution, as well as the known talent of Mr. Abbott, rank this as about the first of juvenile American histories.

"*Unitarianism Defined*. The Scripture Doctrine of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. A Course of Lectures, by FREDERICK A. FARLEY, D.D., Pastor of the Church of the Saviour, Brooklyn, New York." 12mo., pp. 270. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

Unitarianism stated and advocated by one of its ablest defenders.

"*A New Practical and Easy Method of Learning the Spanish Language*. After the system of F. AHN, Doctor of Philosophy and Professor at the College of Neuss. First American edition, revised and enlarged." 12mo., pp. 149. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

"*Peace in Believing*; exemplified in the Memoirs of Mrs. ANN EAST, written by her husband, Rev. JOHN EAST, A.M., author of '*My Saviour*.'" 16mo., pp. 270. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1860.

"*My Saviour*; or, Devotional Meditations, in Prose and Verse, on the Names and Titles of the Lord Jesus Christ. By the Rev. JOHN EAST, A.M., Rector of Croscombe, Somerset, England." 16mo., pp. 252. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1860.

The above two volumes are finished in beautiful style.

"*Five Years in China*, with some Account of the Great Rebellion, and a Description of St. Helena. By CHARLES TAYLOR, M.D., (formerly Missionary to China,) Corresponding Secretary of the S. S. Union of the M. E. Church, South. New York: Derby & Jackson; Nashville: J. B. McFerrin. 1860.

A very valuable volume for inquirers touching the Flowery Realm.

"*Natural History*. For the use of Schools and Families. By WORTHINGTON HOOKER, M.D., Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine in Yale College. Illustrated by near three hundred engravings." 12mo., pp. 371. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

"*History of the Dragon*, that old Serpent, the Devil, and Satan, whose head must be bruised in the coming Contest among the Nations. By G. B. STACY." 24mo., pp. 184. Richmond, Va.: W. Hargrave White. 1860.

"*An Elementary Grammar of the Italian Language*, progressively arranged for the use of Schools and Colleges. By G. B. FONTANA." 12mo., pp. 236. New York. 1860.

"*Rosa*; or, The Parisian Girl. From the French of Madame DE PRESSENSÉ. By Mrs. J. C. FLETCHER." 16mo., pp. 371. Harper & Brothers. 1860.

"*Chapters on Wives*. By Mrs. ELLIS." 12mo., pp. 258. Harper & Brothers.

"*Right at Last*, and other Tales. By Mrs. GASKELL." Harper & Brothers.



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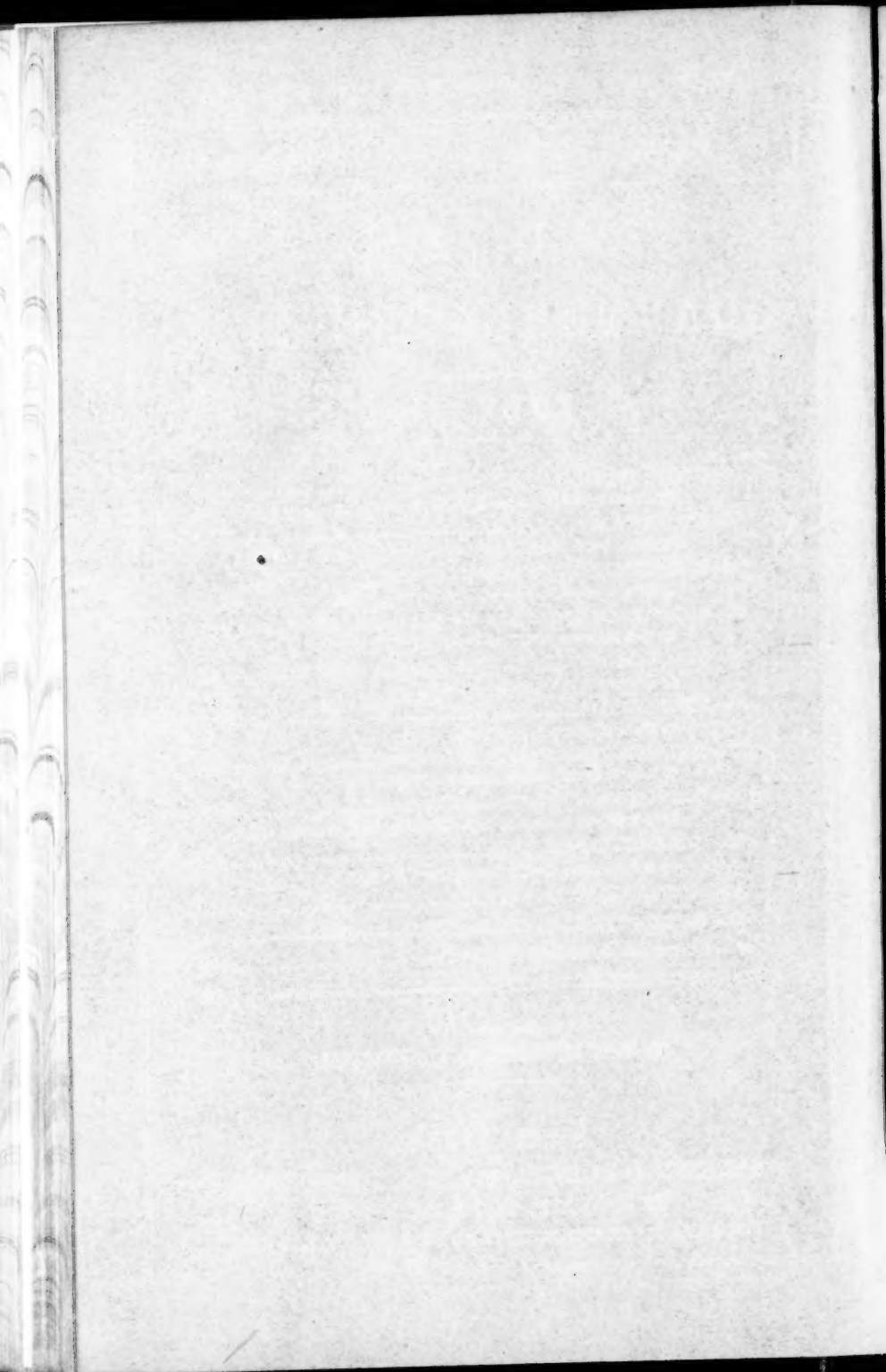
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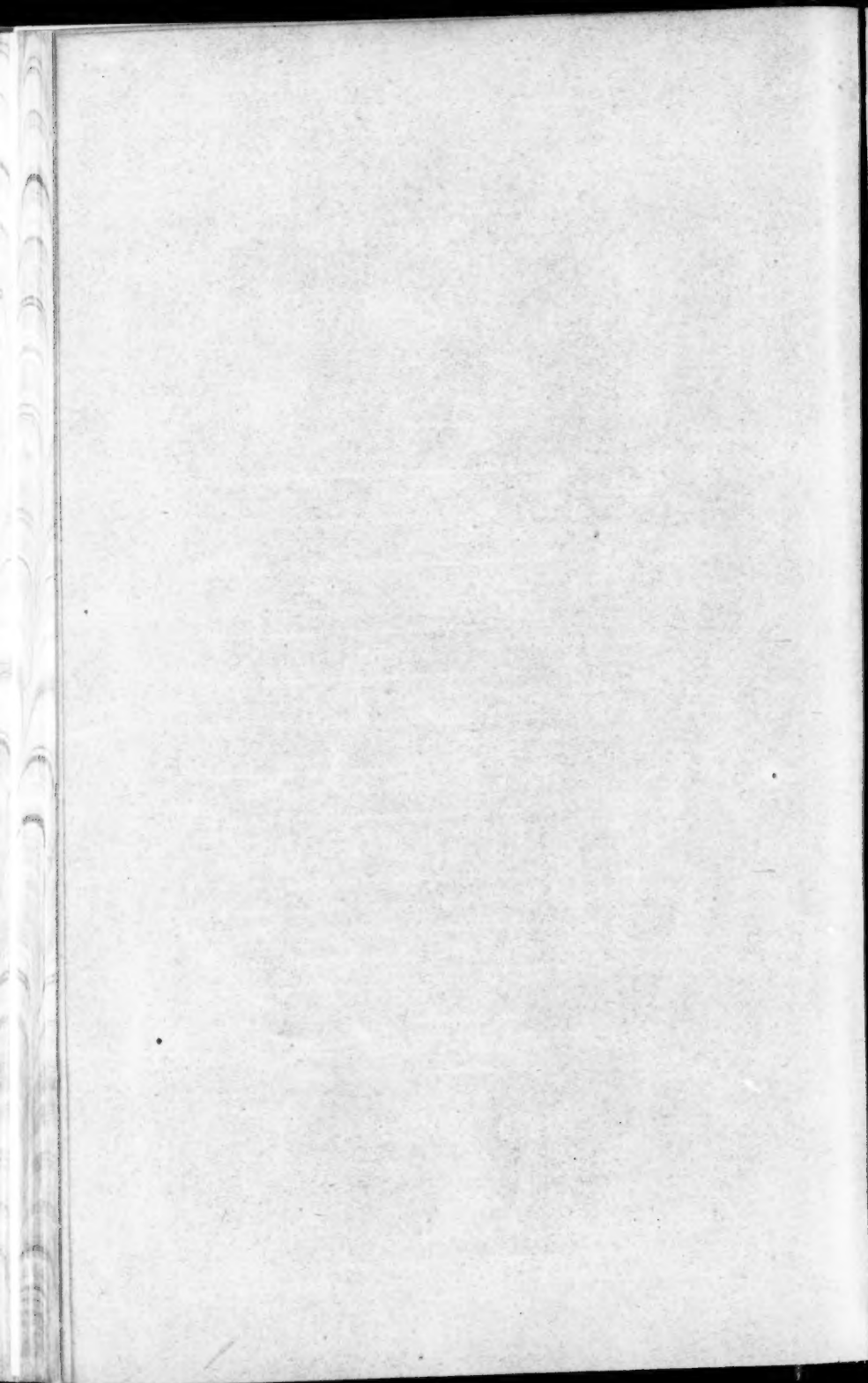
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